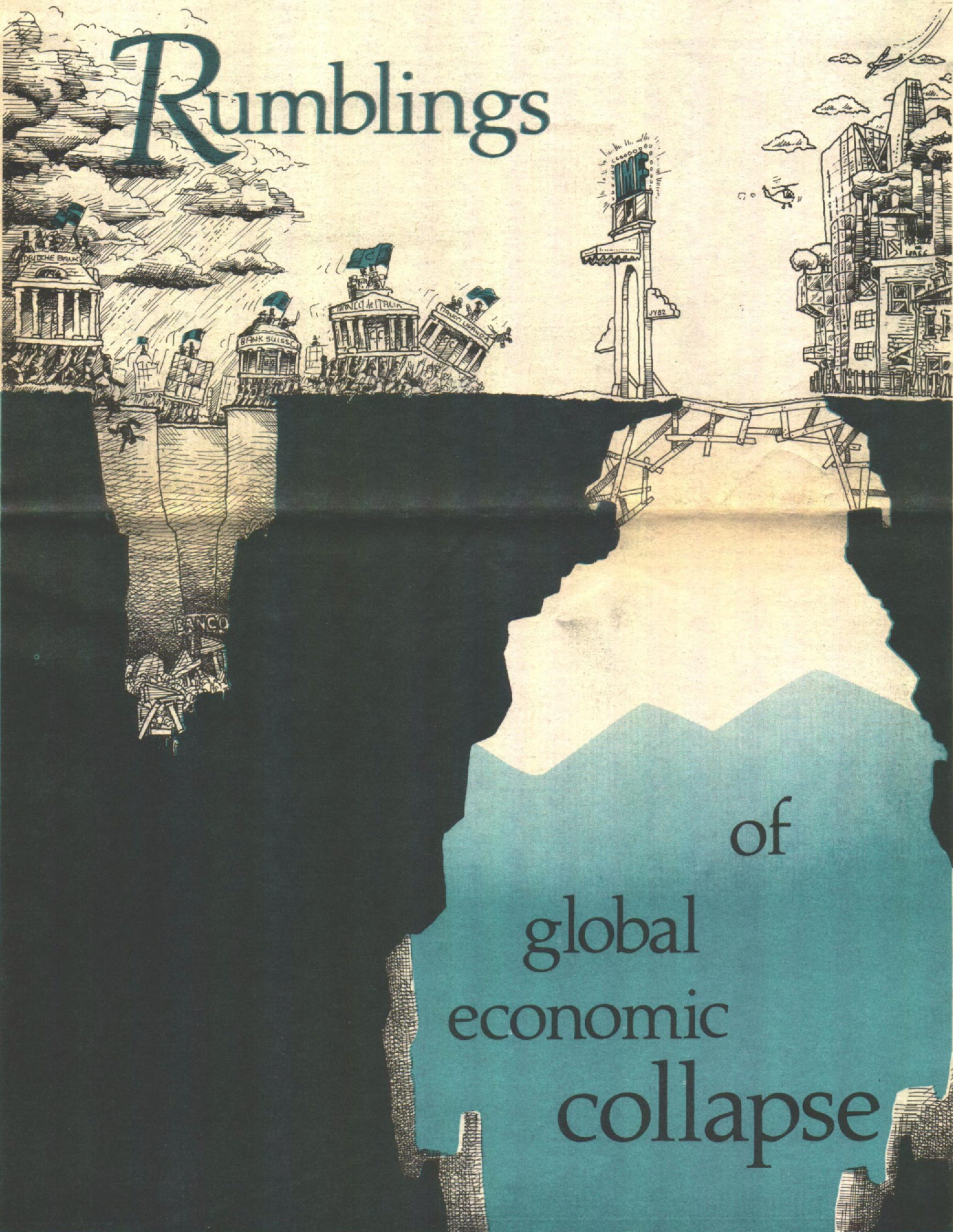
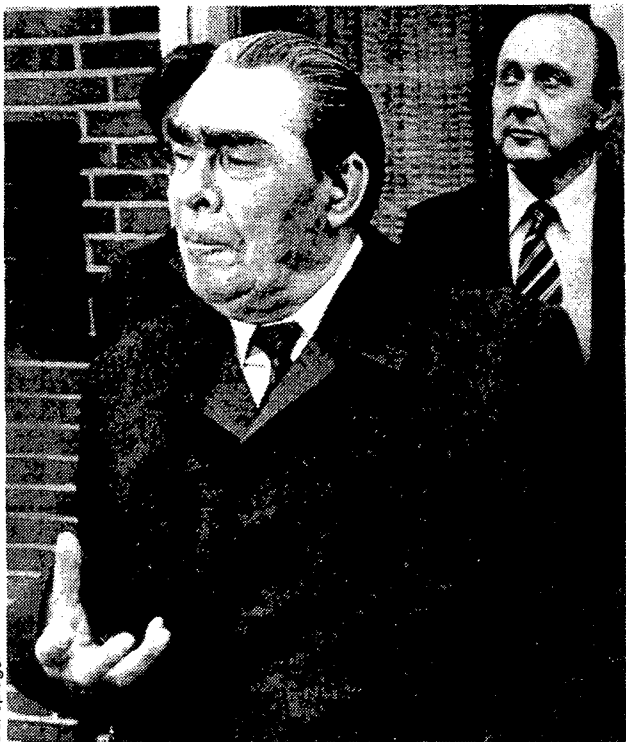


Rumblings



THE INSIDE STORY



Der Spiegel

Leonid Brezhnev refuses to retreat on the strategic gains of Soviet power.

The Soviet Union is waiting for 1984

Editor's note: Fred Halliday recently traveled to the Soviet Union where he met with numerous foreign policy experts and academics. Following is a report of his findings.

By Fred Halliday

MOSCOW

Discussions with Soviet foreign policy experts leave two dominant impressions. One is that the Soviets have abandoned hopes of any type of serious negotiations with the Reagan administration. The other is that despite the increased pressures and dangers of the Reagan presidency, the Soviets are confident that they can weather the storm. They believe that their own firmness—combined with what they term the “realities” of international politics—will halt Washington’s cold-war offensive.

When Reagan first came to office, the Soviets hoped that his rhetorical anti-Communism would be tempered by the limits of U.S. power, by economic difficulties at home and by pressure from America’s allies. But this has not happened. Instead—as evidenced by the new Pentagon war plans and by Reagan’s pronouncements to this summer’s UN Special Session on Disarmament—the militancy of the 1980 electoral campaign has been sustained. Even the appointment of George Shultz to replace Alexander Haig as secretary of state is judged unlikely to alter Reagan’s course.

This mood of resignation was summarized in a July 16 *Pravda* article by Georgi Arbatov, director of the U.S. and Canada Institute. He wrote that U.S. foreign policy was “divorced from the real situation, from the true interests of the Americans and the economic, political and even spiritual capabilities of the U.S.”

This loss of hope covers the spectrum of U.S.-Soviet relations. The Soviets are continuing with the Geneva talks on intermediate and strategic nuclear missiles, even though they give the impression that they expect nothing from them. However, they do not want to be seen by the rest of the world as the party that broke off the talks. Exchanges with the U.S. on the Mideast and Afghanistan have been occasions for recriminations, not compromise. In recent weeks, the U.S. has made more explicit than ever before its plans for economic warfare against the Soviet Union.

Yet Arbatov’s *Pravda* article also contained another message, an intimation that the Soviet Union can survive Reagan’s onslaught. As he put it, he looked forward to the day when he could say: “It is not with this administration that history began, and it is not with it

that it has ended.” This would seem to mean that although the danger of nuclear war has increased under Reagan, the Soviets do not expect the present cold war to break into a hot one. Arbatov’s remark also implies that the Soviets will be patient and will hold on until 1984, when the possibility of a more accommodating U.S. administration arises.

This waiting period involves a refusal to retreat on the strategic gains of Soviet power. The Soviets are worried about Poland and disappointed at the failure of General Jaruzelski to revive either the Party or the economy. As one commentator put it, “We expect the only news to be bad news.” But the Soviets are determined to do whatever is necessary to maintain a friendly government in Warsaw, whatever the West’s reaction.

The Soviets appear no more optimistic about the situation in Afghanistan, where between 3,000-4,000 of their soliders have been killed since the December 1979 intervention. The ongoing problem is how to build up the Afghan army and state, and until the Soviets feel the Afghan regime can stand on its own, they appear committed to staying. The only development that would radically alter the situation would be a change in Pakistan that deprives the rebels of their cross-border support, and this—despite Soviet approaches to Islamabad—is unlikely.

The Third World poses special problems for the Soviets, and they are conscious of how little they can meet the demands of their poorer allies for economic assistance. They are short of foreign currency, and foreign aid—particularly to the Arab world—is unpopular inside the Soviet Union. And Soviet officials are critical of how their aid has been used in the past. The defection of countries like Egypt and Somalia, which received large amounts of aid, has therefore made them more cautious.

The Soviets also want to protect the gains they have made in the Third World. The word seems to have gone out to countries such as Cuba and South Yemen to avoid clashes with the West and its allies. The Soviets have been reserved about the Lebanon crisis, although they know that Israel is telling the U.S. that its invasion of Lebanon was a blow to the Soviet allies, Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization. What the Soviets fear the most is an international crisis over Iran. They say they would intervene if the U.S. tried to play a direct role in a civil-war situation. As one expert explained, Iran is the one place in the world where a direct U.S.-Soviet clash is possible. This is why Soviet officials have been increasingly critical of the Khomeini government, whose invasion of Iraq and chaotic administration at home they see as providing the context for a greater U.S. role in the Iranian government.

Despite the cold war posturing in Washington, the Soviets do not seem to have abandoned hope for what they call a “deep-rooted detente.” An expert at the Institute for Study of the U.S. and Canada said it would involve the following elements: U.S.-Soviet cooperation to solve major common problems, starting with the arms race; competition through ideas, not military buildups; and a certain level of trust based on deeds such as academic exchanges.

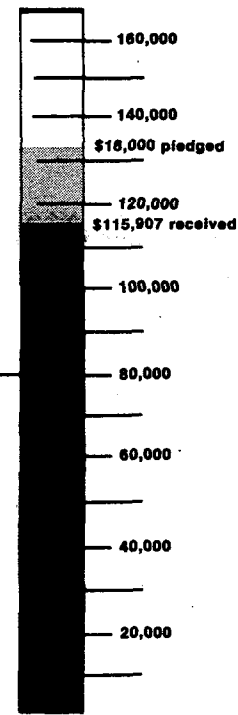
At home, however, they are reacting to Reagan’s arms buildup by starting their own. No one is revealing any details, but it is assumed that the Soviets are committed to producing new weapons that will offset the Cruise and Pershing missiles if they are deployed in Europe in 1983. In their view, deployment would upset the rough balances worked out in SALT-I and

SALT-II. And Soviet generals have been increasingly stressing the need for morale and for a willingness to endure war, as well as taking measures to improve the technical capabilities of the officer corps. The Navy, which has developed a large surface fleet in the past two decades, is believed to be absorbing the lessons of the Falklands War, which showed how vulnerable such vessels are to missile attack.

The military policy appears to have wide support in a country where people retain a vivid memory of foreign invasion and where it is assumed—right or wrong—that the U.S. is ahead in the arms race. World War II is present in many areas of Soviet life—in the war memorials that millions visit, in the medals that older men wear normally in the street, in the visits by newlywed couples to the tomb of the unknown soldier near the Kremlin, in the displays in academic centers of those staff members who fought in the war. Today the heroes of the Soviets are those who defeated foreign invaders—Alexander Nevsky who crushed the Germans in the 13th century, Ivan the Terrible who pushed back the Tartars in the 16th, Peter the Great who defeated the Swedes in the 18th and General Kutuzov who led the resistance to Napoleon.

They have been joined by another patriotic hero, who occupies a surprisingly warm place in the hearts of many Soviets—Joseph Stalin. It is this patriotic bond between the state and the people that is Brezhnev’s greatest asset in his confrontation with Reagan, and it is the factor that will confound those who seek to weaken the Soviet system by imposing new burdens of military expenditure on it. Whereas defense spending is often seen as unnecessary in the West, most Soviet citizens seem to consider it a necessary part of the budget. ■ Fred Halliday is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies.

Final spurt needed



Last week 157 more *In These Times* subscribers sent in an additional \$6,900, bringing to total number of contributors to our \$160,000 fund drive to 2,853 and the amount received to \$115,907. With \$18,000 more pledged, our total so far is \$133,907. Although this is an amazing total, it is still short of our goal by some \$26,000, so we’re hoping for a final spurt in the next two weeks.

Meanwhile, our subscription income has begun to come back to normal. In fact, these last two and a half weeks have been the best all year, with a record \$10,500 in subscription income last week. We’re hoping to keep that up through the end of this year, and we’re counting on our readers to help make it possible.

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Soaring debts threaten banking system

By Daniel Lazare

NEW YORK

IT WAS ALMOST ENOUGH TO MAKE you feel sorry for Wall Street. Midway through the New York Stock Exchange's spectacular rally of August 13 through September 3, in which the Dow Jones Industrial average surged ahead an impressive 19 percent, the news hit: Mexico was unable to pay even the interest on its \$80 billion debt to foreign banks.

Rumors and worries of other national defaults promptly followed one upon the other in stunning fashion: Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Bolivia, Poland, Cuba, the Democratic Republic of Germany and more, an avalanche of international loans rapidly turning sour and threatening to swamp the world financial system.

For the banks, anxiously awaiting any signs of economic recovery, the combination of the stock market rally and the gathering threat of a string of national defaults was a cruel joke, rather like finally receiving that long-overdue Christmas present, only to have it doused with gasoline and set afire right before your eyes.

The financial crisis was the order of the day at the annual meeting of the 146-member International Monetary Fund (IMF) in Toronto on September 6-9. It was an occasion for brave talk by some bankers and unusually frank expressions of fear and worry by others.

"Both bankers and borrowers have come to a point where they realize there is too much debt and too much short-term debt," acknowledged the deputy chairman of the Philadelphia National Bank. "They are both at fault."

The deputy managing director of Credit Industriel et Commercial of Paris observed glumly: "Bankers are always worried, but this year they have reason to be."

On the other hand, David Rockefeller, who retired last year as chairman of

will scrape through with the aid of lowered interest rates and the modest economic rebound the Reagan administration professes to see for 1983. The pessimists, however, believe that the ability to make good on loans is declining with each passing week. That means more defaults (tacit or declared), snowballing bankruptcies and eventually a serious loss of confidence in the banking system.

Loss of confidence, of course, is merely a polite term for panic. Most people are aware that a bank has on hand enough cash to cover only a fraction of its outstanding loans. But no one cares as long as the economy is expanding, because the bank is making money from the interest it charges on those loans and its ability to make good on individual debts seems assured.

If the economy takes a downward turn, however, and the bank shows signs of faltering, people may rush to withdraw their funds before it is too late. A run develops. The bank is busted, sending shock waves through the ranks of its creditors. Corporations, other banks and individual depositors who were owed money by the failed bank now throw up their hands and declare bankruptcy themselves. The money supply contracts and vast amounts of capital go up in smoke. Business investment dries up and workers are thrown out onto the streets.

This is what happened in 1929-33, when approximately 5,500 banks failed in the U.S. and economic activity approached absolute zero, and there is a significant chance of a repeat in 1982 or 1983. Then, as now, the cause was a tremendous over-extension of credit that had been used to mask a serious fall-off in industrial production. In 1929, the most vivid example of that over-extension was the practice of buying stocks on a 10 percent margin. The practice fueled the speculative fever on Wall Street, and stocks rose ever higher, until a breaking point was finally reached. The edifice shivered and trembled and then collapsed in a free fall.

Much the same appears to be happening now, although it is impossible to say at exactly what stage in the crisis we are at this moment. Unlike 1929, the action has shifted to the banks, especially the international financial institutions, which have loaned increasingly heavily to individuals, corporations and whole nations. Meanwhile, economic production remained weak throughout the '70s, with one severe recession in 1973-75 and another beginning in 1980 and continuing to this day. Strains are already showing in the international lines of credit, and it seems to be only a matter of time before the lines snap.

Here are a few statistics to outline the dimensions of the problem. Third World debt grew from \$97.3 billion in 1973 to \$425.2 billion in 1980. Even if inflation is taken into account, that is more than a doubling of the debt load. Moreover, most of that debt is held by private banks, which are more limited in their options, rather than national treasuries—65 percent in 1982 versus 45 percent 10 years earlier.

Few were bothered by the trend, however, as long as inflation—which effectively reduces the size of a debt over time—was rising, and the prices of commodities were going up, thereby enhancing the value of Third World nations' exports.

But around 1980, disinflation set in. The IMF index of commodity prices dropped 22 percent from 1980 to mid-1982, according to the IMF. The industrial slump in Western Europe and North America weakened the oil market, with the result that prices dropped and export earnings for OPEC members declined. The price of oil topped \$40 a barrel immediately after the Iranian revolution;

U.S. refiners now pay \$31 to \$32.

Libya, whose prices used to be among the highest, saw the value of its petroleum exports drop from \$22 billion in 1980 to \$15 billion in 1981. When it refused to cut prices in the face of a world oil glut, its customers disappeared and production fell to a paltry \$3 billion in exports in the first half of 1982. Now Libya, which is also having problems paying its debts, has cut prices, scaled down development projects at home and increased oil production—which will probably depress the market still further.

Similarly, Cuba, which owes \$3 billion to Western bankers, has been hurt by a weak sugar market, while Poland, which owes \$27 billion, has been hurt by the weak coal market. Both countries are on the troubled debtors' list.

Adding to the problem was the U.S.' tight money policy, begun in 1979, which sent interest rates rocketing. The

rates rose even after inflation declined, meaning that the *real* interest rate (the interest rate minus inflation) zoomed from less than 1 percent through much of the '70s to more than 16 percent by early 1982 (IMF figures). It was like slashing workers' wages and tripling or quadrupling rent.

Experts explain.

The realization that something serious is afoot is growing, both among economic theorists and Wall Street investors. Following is a sampling of opinion from recent interviews conducted by *In These Times* on the possibility of a Great Depression II:

• Robert Lekachman, author of *Greed is Not Enough*, member of the editorial board of *The Nation* and professor emeritus of economics, Lehman College, City University of New York: "There are

Continued on page 8

"The general feeling is that we probably have the most serious world financial crisis since WWII."

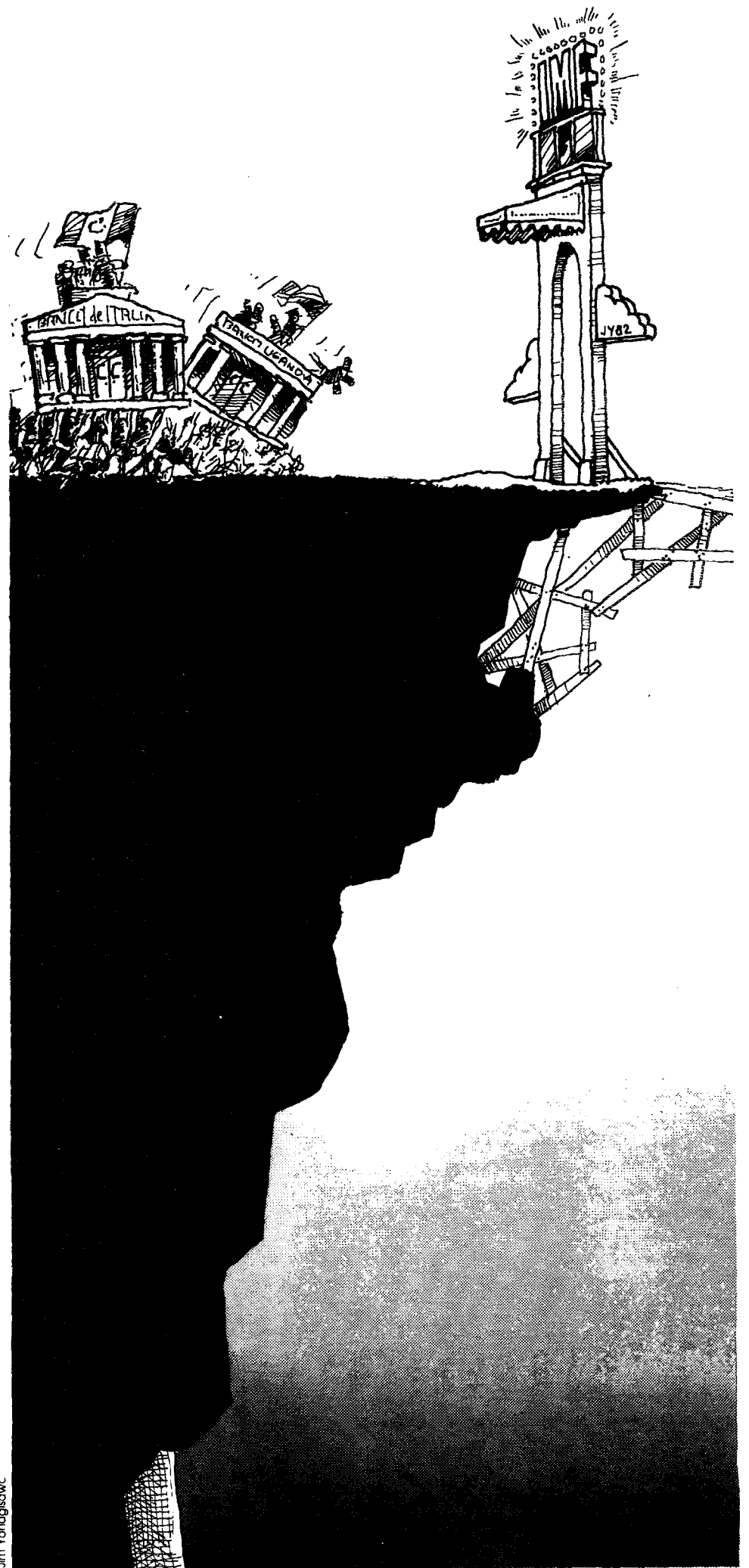
the Chase Manhattan Bank, put up a valiant front as he assured reporters that the system would survive. "Most of the major international banks have been cautious in what they've done," he said. "Even in a situation like Mexico, I don't see any risk of ultimate loss."

Rockefeller's words brought to mind the statement a half century earlier by his famous grandfather, John D. "Believing that fundamental conditions of the country are sound," the founder of the clan said on that occasion, "...my son and I have for some days been purchasing sound common stocks."

The date of that remark was Oct. 30, 1929, one day after the worst plunge in the history of the New York Stock Exchange.

Dissecting the crisis.

How bad is the current crisis? Extremely bad, by most accounts, and possibly on a scale of 1929. Among bankers, the optimists—who, for the moment, are in the majority—hope that the lending houses



IN SHORT

All in the family

Two of the major thrusts of the New Right's political agenda—strong pro-family sentiments and firm anti-unionism—seem to have caught some Teamster leaders right in the middle. While most definitely pro-union, a number of the Teamster's leaders are also pro-family in ways that few besides monarchs and millionaires are able to be. Consider Joseph Bernstein of Local 781 in Chicago. According to a recent report released by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), Joseph, who earned \$157,033 last year from three Teamster posts, has provided for the welfare of his two sons, Joseph L. and Robert, through union jobs. Joseph L. pulled down \$131,584 last year, while brother Robert had to settle for \$121,691. Across town, William Hogan of Local 714 is only slightly less pro-family. He earned \$147,749, while son William Jr. got \$80,864 on the Teamster payroll and son James made \$77,662.

But that's small potatoes compared to the late Cleveland Teamster boss William Presser, who brought over half a million dollars to his family last year through 11 union posts held by four family members. All in all, there are nine Teamster clans that bring in \$250,000 or more to the family coffers, according to TDU, a dissident group within the union.

Between the covers

This might make a good reading list for an introductory course in literature: Homer's *The Odyssey*, Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*, Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy*, F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and *The Best Short Stories by Negro Writers*.

Unfortunately, it is a non-reading list—books whose place on library shelves have been challenged for their moral character, political stances or use of language. The American Library Association reports that incidents of attempted book censoring have tripled since 1980. Last year pressure groups asked librarians and teachers to delete over 900 titles from card catalogues, including such hideously venomous works as *Charlotte's Web*, *The American Heritage Dictionary* and *Making It With Mademoiselle* (a book about dressmaking from the editors of *Mademoiselle* magazine that was presumed to be a sex manual by several watchdogs of the public morality, who it seems had never bothered to flip through it). But the good news is that librarians, teachers, publishers, booksellers and even high school students are fighting back. In June, the Supreme Court upheld the right of five Long Island high school students to sue their local school board over the issue of book censorship, and earlier this month Banned Books Week was celebrated across the country with displays and public programs.

Michiganders take on Trident

The upper peninsula of Michigan, known for its long winters and fierce tradition of radicalism, has been chosen as the site of an elaborate communications grid that will allow the Navy to launch speedier nuclear attacks from their Trident submarines. The project, which carries the ironically jolly name of ELF, has fired the fury of many local residents. After several years of organizing opposition to the project in their communities, they took their case to Lansing last week to convince state officials to oppose ELF and deny the Navy access to state lands needed for the project.

Their campaign has received the endorsement of Detroit's Roman Catholic Bishop, Thomas J. Gumbleton, who said, "the Navy is building what has been called 'Trident's first-strike trigger'.... I am hopeful that by stopping Project ELF in Michigan and Wisconsin, we can make a very real contribution to ending the horrible race toward nuclear devastation." The Bishop went on to attack the Trident program as a whole, saying "On Sept. 11, 1982, the second Trident nuclear missile submarine, named the U.S.S. Michigan, will be commissioned in Groton, Conn. It is a disgrace that the world's deadliest weapon, a Trident submarine, should be named after our state."

Bad news beers

As if things weren't bad enough already, a nefarious plot is brewing to jack up the cost of a glass of beer. Beer distributors, inspired by the unchecked avarice of supply-side economics, hope to squeeze more profit from their own supplies by playing an old American game—monopoly. The distributors are asking Congressional consent for their plan of establishing exclusive franchises for each brand in an area, much like the monopoly rights soft drink distributors won in 1980 with a sweet supply of political contributions. Representatives and senators, thirsty for campaign funds, at this point appear likely to approve the measure. That means the bar tab for a pitcher of cool Blue or the grocery price for a case of Bud suds is likely to climb, since your local distributors will have no fear that if they hiked prices a competitor might deliver the same goods for less.

—Jay Walljasper

Salvadoran exiles lose bid for asylum in U.S.

SAN FRANCISCO—On September 9 immigration judge Brian Simpson denied political asylum to two Salvadoran refugees who argued that their status as young working-class men made them "blancos," or targets, in El Salvador (*In These Times*, May 5). Luis Escobar, 22, and Luis Sanchez, 30, fled San Salvador in 1979 and have been living in the Bay Area. But the verdict is only step one in an appeals process that will eventually take this test case out of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and into the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, where National Lawyers Guild attorneys believe they can get a favorable ruling.

"We're disappointed by the decision, but not surprised," says attorney Marc Van Der Hout. "Only 26 of the some 12,000 Salvadoran asylum requests have been granted," he says, despite the continuing civil war that has claimed the lives of 34,000 people since 1979.

Temporary political asylum—otherwise known as "extended voluntary departure status" by the INS—supposedly should be granted if refugees have a "well-founded fear of persecution" because of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group. As a signatory to the 1951 United Nations Convention and the 1967 Protocol Agreements on Refugees, the U.S. has agreed to the right of political asylum. Nevertheless, refugees from Haiti, El Salvador, and the Philippines are routinely sent back to face certain persecution, while others fleeing Communist Vietnam, Afghanistan, Poland or

China are welcomed with open arms.

Van Der Hout and National Lawyers Guild attorneys Patty Blum and Lynn Sonfield called on 12 expert witnesses during nearly four weeks of testimony to show that young men in working-class barrios are frequently subject to abuse and torture. Agreeing with attorneys that the bounds of the "social group" category should be tested, Judge Simpson admitted testimony from former Salvadoran military and security force officers, social worker and the founder of the teachers' union on the character of the present Salvadoran regime.

In his opinion Simpson acknowledged that the security forces have been responsible for thousands of civilian deaths, and that the applicants correctly believe that they are at risk. But he ruled that Escobar and Sanchez were not political activists and had not been in "direct conflict" with the military. "There is no reason to believe that they would be more likely to encounter difficulty than any other person with the same characteristics," Simpson wrote in an apparent confirmation of the refugees' claim. The judge held that Escobar and Sanchez had not proven they were "individual" targets of persecution.

Van Der Hout will appeal the decision to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C., and then shift to the federal court system—but that will take years. "Obviously political asylum cases follow the foreign policy considerations of the U.S.," he says. "It would be

very difficult for this judge to contradict President Reagan's certification to Congress in July that human rights are improving in El Salvador. We are convinced, however, that the law permits asylum for Salvadoran refugees, and we think we can find a judge who upholds that once the case leaves the INS and the Justice Department."

The status of Escobar and Sanchez remains in limbo, but they have been aided by numerous church and support groups in the Bay Area. At the press conference announcing the judge's decision Rev. Gus Schultz of the East Bay Sanctuary Coalition reiterated his offer of protection for the refugees. "We wouldn't make the offer if we didn't expect to see the INS at the door," he said.

The Coalition includes nine churches—Protestant as well as Catholic—and is part of a much wider support network extending to the Mexican border. The California El Salvador network, bolstered by support from church and peace groups elsewhere, has also convinced Western Airlines to drop its recently won contract with the INS returning refugees like Escobar and Sanchez to the junta.

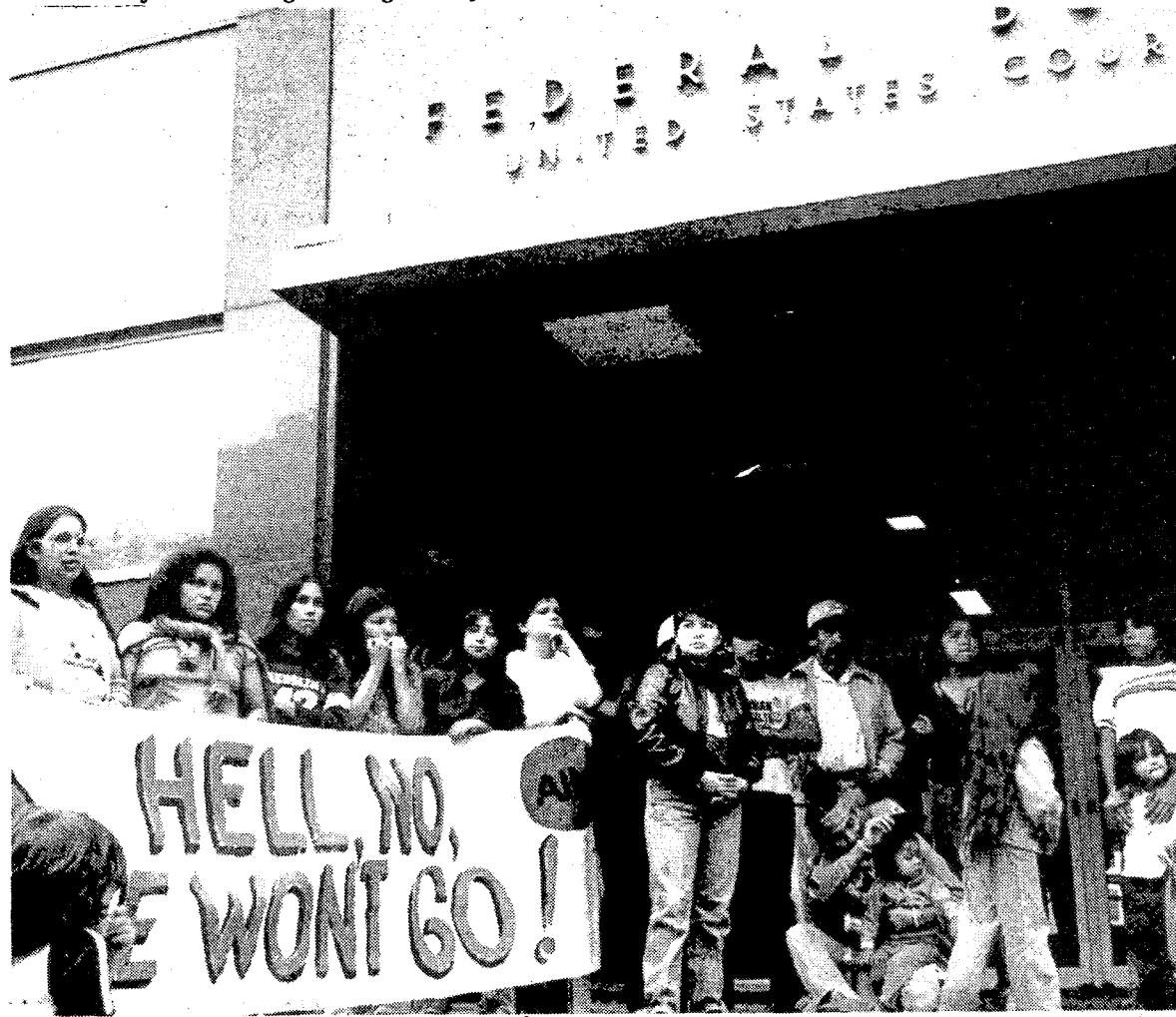
—Thomas Brom

"The Jungle" of the 1980s

Vegetarians aside, meat still is the main attraction at most American dinner tables. And most people presume that the label stamped on the cellophane package, "USDA-Inspected and Passed," guarantees them a wholesome, quality product.

At least that is what the meat packing industry would like its customers to believe. But if consumers knew how often some meat inspectors—because of in-

Residents of Minneapolis' Little Earth community, America's only Indian-operated urban housing project, marched through downtown Minneapolis last month to protest a threatened federal foreclosure on their homes. At a rally in front of the federal building (below), Indian leaders denounced the Department of Housing and Urban Development for not bargaining in good faith over the project's mortgage and for steering investors away from Little Earth. The project received a 60-day extension of HUD's original August 16 foreclosure deadline.



Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

Briefing: Citizens Party

With the taste of political victory (in two recent Burlington, Vt., city council races) still in its mouth, the Citizens Party is gearing up for 82 election campaigns in 20 states this fall as part of its goal to offer left and independent voters a reliable alternative to the on-again, off-again liberalism of the Democratic Party.

"Our candidates are building on the foundation we laid in the 1980 presidential campaign," says Barry Commoner, the party's standard bearer that year who is now chair of its National Political Committee. "(They are) bringing directly to the voters our message of the need for a new political party free of corporate control."

"The people have now had two years of the havoc that Reaganomics has reeked on this country," he adds, "and they are tired of it. But the Democrats, who have buckled under to Reagan time and time again, continue to flounder, offering no opposition, no new ideas and no political will to lead us out of this mess."

The party is competing for three governorships (Texas, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island), three Senate slots (Texas, Pennsylvania and Vermont) and 19 seats in Congress. Their biggest hopes are pinned on Vermont, where party officials are quietly predicting that they may draw 15-20 percent of the vote in four statewide races and perhaps even capture a seat or two in the state assembly.

In Minneapolis, where Kathryn Anderson is squaring off against Democratic Congressman Martin Olav Sabo, there are also hopes of an impressive election day tally. Sabo has a generally liberal voting record but is seen as vulnerable because of his support of increased military spending—an issue that many Citizens Party

In Minneapolis, Kathryn Anderson (center) is challenging Democratic incumbent congressman Martin Olav Sabo.

congressional candidates plan to raise this fall. Anderson has already won the endorsement of the influential Hennepin County Women's Political Caucus and gay rights activists.

The only Citizens Party member with a real chance of winding up in Congress, however, has been disowned by the party (*In These Times*, May 26). Steve Bonney was thwarted by Indiana's rigid ballot access laws in his attempt to represent the party in the state's 7th Congressional district, so he ran in the Democratic primary and, to everyone's astonishment, won. He faces an uphill contest against a Republican foe in this newly created district, but given the unpredictable course of the economy Bonney could wind up on top in November.

The party has also targeted a number of local elections—from a county treasurer's race in rural Missouri to eight state assembly seats in Philadelphia—where they can have some impact, either by winning office, gaining publicity or earning a permanent berth on the ballot. Pennsylvania leads the nation with 17 candidates running under the Citizens Party-affiliated Consumer Party, followed by Texas, whose 13 Citizens Party candidates were allowed on the ballot through a suit that challenged the state's arduous election procedures. The state can appeal the decision, but the verdict may come too late to affect elections.

According to Rick LaRue, the party's national director, a handful of Citizens Party hopefuls have a fighting chance of being elected to state legislatures. Vermont's three state assembly candidates are rated as contenders along with two in Oregon, one in Seattle and one in Atlanta. Out of all 82 races, LaRue estimates that at least a couple candidates



Barry Commoner

will join Burlington's three city council members and school board officials in Seattle and Schenectady, N.Y., as elected officials of the Citizens Party.

"Of course, a lot depends on what you call victory," LaRue says. "A good showing in these local races, no matter who is the victor, is important in getting the party going."

—Jay Walljasper



Photographer Unknown



The quality of meat products is in question due to new enforcement guidelines at the USDA.

adequate training or fear of reprimand turn their backs on cancerous cows and filthy birds, their confidence in that label, and the meat industry, would be shaken.

Here's how one inspector described what she saw her first day at work in a Texas slaughterhouse: "They were killing heifers, there were a lot of sick ones, diseased ones, the inspectors had never been trained for pathology, they didn't know what to look for...the picks were dirty, they had black grease on them, they were jabbing them into the carcasses..."

Ever since the first federal meat inspection act was passed in 1906—in a "gut reaction" to *The Jungle*, Upton Sinclair's novel describing abominable conditions in Chicago's packing houses—government inspectors have scrutinized meat plants. In the years since then inspectors have often waged a tug of war with the meat industry, which needs the government's guarantee to sell its product, but resents the costs of complying with federal health and safety standards.

Government enforcement of sanitary standards had grown lax even before Ronald Reagan was elected president. But now, through a series of largely unnoticed bureaucratic maneuvers, the administration is offering the meat industry new ways to sneak around federal health and safety regulations while still receiving the USDA stamp.

One of the most powerful tools of the Department of Agriculture's Food Safety and Inspection Service (FSIS) is being neutralized in a move billed as slashing red tape. Records of plant violations compiled by an internal auditing agency, which can be used to pinpoint dirty meat plants, are being cut back and FSIS chief Donald Houston is withholding those already compiled from public scrutiny.

The auditing branch, called the Programs Review Bureau, was set up 16 years ago as a watchdog agency to keep USDA compliance officials informed

about inspection activity in the nearly 8,000 meat and poultry plants around the country. Until last year, the bureau made surprise visits to meat plants and filed reports detailing abuses. And until a *Kansas City Times* reporter excerpted these reports in a critical story last March, they were available to the public through the Freedom of Information Act.

The meat industry fought long and hard against the release of such information. One statement describing conditions in a Tennessee plant helps explain their uneasiness: "In grinding room overhead, pipes, fan shields, electrical conduits and electrical boxes on wall had flaking paint, rust, soot and grease. Some particles of foreign substance (soot and rust) were on inside of tub of ground beef."

With their leaders now in USDA's top positions (Richard Lyng, former president of the American Meat Institute is deputy secretary for agriculture and Charles McMillan, now assistant secretary for Marketing and Inspection Services, was the vice-president of the American Cattlemen's Association), the meat industry intensified its lobbying campaign to abolish the Programs Review Bureau.

Ostensibly, those efforts were unsuccessful. The Programs Review Bureau survived Reagan's chopping block with a \$1 million budget projected for 1983. But the meat packers' complaints have prompted significant changes in the bureau's operations.

Reviewers are now making announced visits, and they have been ordered to refrain from filing reports citing "minor" violations of the Wholesome Meat and Poultry Act, such as meat lying on dirty tables and small numbers of flies.

According to Carl Telleen, an outspoken 68-year-old reviewer who was recently forced to transfer from a field post in Kansas to the Washington, D.C., office, "They no longer allow us to do our jobs."

—Kathleen Hughes

IN THE NATION

ELECTIONS

Democrats coast to victory

By John B. Judis

BOSTON

MANY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT 1982 races have been in Democratic Party primaries, where liberal or "progressive" Democrats have challenged conservatives and "boll weevils." The election results from the September 14 primary in Massachusetts and the September 7 primary in Connecticut amounted to a smashing victory for the Party's liberal wing.

In Massachusetts, former governor Michael Dukakis ousted incumbent Governor Edward King, known as Ronald Reagan's favorite governor and recently the toast of the *Wall Street Journal's* editorial page. In Connecticut, two newcomers from the Party's left, State Sen. William Curry and Legal Services official Bruce Morrison, won surprisingly easy victories in congressional primaries.

The Massachusetts primary may have been the most symbolically important of the entire fall season. In 1978, King had upset the incumbent Dukakis by blending a promise of supply-side tax cuts with a

ment officials were indicted for bribery and corruption.

King also went out of his way to confer favors on business. A typical example was a decision of the Massachusetts Port Authority, dominated by King appointees, to lower the already minimal landing fees for private planes from \$50 to \$5 at Boston's airport.

A process liberal.

Dukakis has always been a colorless politician whose main asset has been his reputation for honesty and clean government. Boston's alternative weekly, *The Boston Phoenix*, accurately describes him as a "process liberal."

Dukakis made his mark when as a state legislator he got no-fault auto insurance passed in 1970. As governor, from 1974 to 1978, he angered many liberals by his budget cuts, but to his credit he appointed effective bank and insurance commissioners, who drew attention to such practices as redlining, and he virtually eliminated the corruption that had been endemic to Bay State politics. As a convicted contractor commented in 1980 hearings on corruption, "I hate to give him an endorsement because if any one man de-

both the press and the public to sleep with the release of a complex housing program for Massachusetts.

The summer polls showed King gaining dramatically on his challenger. Worse still, the pattern was very similar to 1978. King's archetypal voter was an older middle-income French Canadian or Irish Catholic male who saw himself as a conservative, while Dukakis' archetype was a young upper-middle-class Jewish woman who saw herself as a liberal.

But this time King could not overtake Dukakis. In the final tally, Dukakis captured 53 percent of the vote. And while his support appeared again to be tilted toward middle-class and high-tech suburbia—he won an astonishing 85 percent in Brookline—he was able to neutralize King's appeal among blue-collar Democrats.

The most important reason King failed

omics and about the governor's ability, under new Party rules, to influence the third of the delegation to the Democratic Party nominating convention in 1984 that will be made up of state officials rather than elected delegates.)

Dukakis should now have an easy time dispatching his patrician Republican opponent John Winthrop Sears. But whether he wins or not, liberal Democrats have already gotten what they wanted: the defeat of King and of Reagan in Massachusetts.

"Progressive" coalitions.

In Connecticut congressional races, state Sen. William Curry, a former staff member of the Connecticut Citizens Action Group and a protege of Senate candidate Toby Moffett, received almost half of the vote against a moderate and a conservative Democrat in the race for Moffett's Hartford House seat. Curry was able to assemble what he described as a "progressive coalition" of labor, environmentalists, seniors, minorities and feminists.

In the contest for New Haven's con-

In the Massachusetts gubernatorial campaign, Sen. Edward Kennedy campaigned for Michael Dukakis.



gressional seat held by Republican Larry DeNardis, Bruce Morrison upset Stave Wareck, the president of New Haven's Board of Aldermen. Wareck had the backing of New Haven's Democratic machine while Morrison developed a coalition similar to that of Curry (*In These Times*, June 30). Wareck outspent Morrison by almost two to one and purchased considerable TV time. Morrison did no TV advertising.

But Morrison's campaign, run by Nora Engle, who managed Kennedy's successful primary campaign in March 1980, made the most of its resources. Morrison combined campaigning with political activism.

In Hamden, a middle-class New Haven suburb, Morrison, with Ralph Nader's help, attacked a local official who was installing an illegal dump in the town. The official was also Wareck's principal supporter in Hamden. Morrison won Hamden by almost three to one.

Morrison's labor supporters, who included the Machinists and the Chemical Workers, got out the votes in towns like Wallingford. Morrison used the nuclear weapons freeze issue to attract support in middle-class suburbs like Guilford.

Curry is the favorite in his November race against State Sen. Nancy Johnson, even though Moffett's district went for Reagan in 1980. But Morrison is an underdog against the incumbent DeNardis. To win, Morrison must attract Italian voters who make up about 25 percent of the district's electorate and who can be expected to support DeNardis.

Morrison will be aided by Robert Giamo, who stepped down from the seat in 1980, but Giamo was considerably more conservative than Morrison. "We're going to have to eat a lot of spaghetti," Engle commented.

Both Curry and Morrison will try to make Reaganomics the main issue of the November elections, while their opponents—self-styled Republican moderates—will attempt to distance themselves from Reagan's frayed coattails. DeNardis was among those who voted to override Reagan's budget veto.

But like Dukakis' victory, the victories of Morrison and Curry are highly significant whether or not they win in November. In the East, the Democratic Party is moving leftward rather than rightward under the impact of Reagan and recession.

New Right emphasis on the death penalty and abortion and a specious populism intended to portray Dukakis as a candidate of upper-class Harvard and King as a candidate of Boston College and the ethnic middle class.

King's strategy worked to perfection. While Dukakis won mild middle-class and white-collar Democrats in Boston high-tech suburbs, King, a business-oriented Democrat, captured the low-income vote in blue-collar towns like Fall River and New Bedford.

But King's tenure as governor has been shot through with scandal and corruption. A week after taking office, King's cabinet secretary resigned because of a falsified resume. One month later, his insurance commissioner was forced to resign after being linked to a convicted arsonist. Then, two metropolitan district commissioners resigned because of mob connections, and his transportation secretary and one of his top revenue depart-

stroyed me, it was Governor Dukakis."

In 1978, many Boston liberals backed Cambridge City Councilwoman Barbara Ackerman against both Dukakis and King, but King's four years united the entire Democratic left behind the Democrat with the best chance of beating him—Dukakis. Indeed, as of May 1982, Dukakis held a 48 percentage point lead over King in the *Boston Globe* poll.

But King's impressive media campaign nearly pulled the primary out. As in 1978, King took aim at Dukakis' stance on social issues and at his having raised taxes as governor. King's ads reminded voters that Dukakis opposed the death penalty and favored state funding on welfare abortions and that he had vetoed a bill raising the minimum drinking age.

King was aided by Dukakis' inept media campaign, which in the closing summer weeks highlighted the candidate leading the fight against the blizzard of 1978. On the campaign's last weekend Dukakis put

to overtake Dukakis was that he could not shed the corruption issue. In June, one of King's revenue department officials was arrested. The next month, his deputy revenue commissioner, who was under a cloud of suspicion, hanged himself. King's campaign staff admitted that Dukakis' lead, which had dropped to 9 percent before the suicide, surged back to 16 percent immediately afterward.

Dukakis' effective field organization and his active support from unions like the United Auto Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers parried King's thrusts among blue-collar workers. During the campaign's last weeks, Sen. Edward Kennedy, who has not concealed his contempt for King, campaigned for Dukakis in blue-collar towns. (One of Kennedy's Massachusetts aides had reportedly argued against Kennedy's active involvement. But Kennedy was concerned about the election's symbolic importance as a referendum on Reagan-

Steve Kagen

NEW FEDERALISM

Double whammy in Illinois

By David Mohr

CHICAGO

WHITE-HAIRED YETTA Maslin looked very small, frail and shaky as she made her way to the witness stand before the local politicians gathered to hear testimony about the effects of the Reagan budget on the people of Illinois. Sixty-five years old and two years a widow, Maslin explained how she tried to survive on \$370 a month while paying \$107 a month for her medical card by cutting back on prescriptions to stretch out Medicaid and resisting hospitalization.

"I'm afraid to spend money on anything," she said. "I am terrified I cannot get the medical care I need."

"Now my grip on things is slipping," she said, as tears welled in her eyes and her voice choked. "Lord knows, I never thought it would get this bad."

For the people and the state and local governments in Illinois, the Reagan program has meant no good and much pain so far. Yet rather than counterbalance both the shortsightedness and hardheartedness at the federal level, Republican Governor James Thompson has adopted his own Reagan-style program, making a mean situation even more desperate.

Despite serious public needs in the state—worsened by federal budget cuts that hurt Illinois more than most states—Thompson and the Illinois legislature have responded to the first stages of the "new federalism" by drastically cutting taxes for the rich and for corporations, resisting modest tax reform that would reduce the hardship of the federal fiscal changes and putting off the day of reckoning with budgetary sleight-of-hand that guarantees tax increases after the fall elections. Although Democrats have a one-vote majority in the Senate, they have acted erratically. Some conservatives from the southern part of the state and even a few Chicago Democrats accept Thompson's leadership on significant budget and tax issues.

Illinois has not helped the needy falling through the holes in the proverbial "safety net." Instead, it has severely cut benefits and restricted eligibility for many programs under state control. At a time when the state suffers around 12 percent unemployment, Thompson is cutting thousands of workers from the state payroll, many of them in departments faced with recession-boostered needs.

For the past seven years Illinois' economy has been skidding downward significantly faster than those of its Great Lakes neighbors. Under Thompson the state has responded with ineffective tax breaks for business and reduced state funding for schools, inadequate highway construction (and a nearly bankrupt highway fund) and other failures to improve the public facilities for economic growth.

Thompson has been a vigorous cheerleader for Reaganomics (with occasional snipes at the defense budget) even though the recession is costing the state over \$150 million in lost taxes this year, according to the Public Employee Department of the AFL-CIO. Thompson was at first enthusiastic about the New Federalism—despite state legislator reaction described by one representative as "bleep bleep"—although his ardor cooled as he learned of the plan's financial drain on the state.

Various pressure groups—AFSCME (representing 40,000 state workers), ICARE (Illinois Coalition Against Reagan Economics), the Illinois Public Action Council and social service agencies, among the foremost—have fought with liberal legislators against specific budget cuts and won several battles. But mainly "It's been a never ending series of terrible

AFSCME has won several battles in the state.

choices," AFSCME political director Nancy Shier lamented. Nowhere have the choices been worse than in the private lives of the Yetta Maslins of the state.

Illinois worsened its own fix through its tax policies. When the tax cut of 1981 radically shortened the business depreciation schedule, states like Illinois that had tied their tax assessment to federal formulas also faced huge losses if they did not "decouple" or "disconnect." Twenty-four states that had been connected have broken the link. Illinois refused. As a result, corporate income tax will shrink to around 2 percent of the state budget. From 1983 through 1987 state and local governments in Illinois will lose over \$1.5 billion in revenue due to the new depreciation laws, Citizens for Tax Justice estimates (and the amount would have been 28 percent greater without this summer's federal tax increase).

Thompson—often enthusiastically backed by Democrats—has blessed the wealthy with other tax breaks as well. He has successfully pushed for elimination of the inheritance tax, a new investment tax credit, elimination of sales tax on business machinery and equipment, state enterprise zones and special tax abatements, such as suspension of sales tax on steel rails—a precondition set by U.S. Steel for possible construction of a new rail mill in South Chicago.

Thompson now has on his desk a bill passed earlier this year by the Assembly prohibiting the unitary method of taxation. Since multinationals can easily shift income from one location to another to reduce taxes, the unitary method taxes a corporation based on its worldwide income in proportion to its activity in the state. The unitary tax hits corporations differently, but prohibition of the unitary method would mean a \$300 million annual loss to state and local gov-

ernments.

All this massive giveaway to business flies in the face of innumerable studies that such tax breaks have little effect on business investment decisions, even though businesses are quite happy to take as much as they can. Public investment in highways, transit, water and sewage systems and other infrastructure as well as a heavy commitment to education would bring more economic return to the state.

Thompson has been intent on appearing "fiscally responsible," but he was able to claim a balanced budget this year only by shifting \$300 million in current expenses into future budgets. Although some liberal Democrats hope to circumvent the state constitutional prohibition on a progressive income tax next year, the odds are that Illinois will follow the lead of other states by making up for Reagan-induced difficulties with more regressive taxes.

The Reagan program represents a "double whammy" for Illinois that "will surely result in a new austerity for both individuals and governments," political scientist Thomas J. Anton wrote in *Illinois Issues*. Throughout the '70s Illinois kept a fairly constant share of federal outlays, about 4.3 percent. Yet now it must adapt to a share of the total federal budget cuts that is half again higher, about 6.1 percent. Illinois had depended heavily on "soft" social spending. The "hard" dollars went for housing, sewage, roads and transit. Both sets of programs suffered disproportionate cuts under Reagan. Furthermore, Illinois receives only half the national average in Defense Department expenditures, which Reagan is increasing. Thus the double whammy—or with the tax law changes, a triple whammy.

Consequently, from 1981 to 1983 Illinois will receive only half the national av-

erage of federal budget increases, one-third the increment that will go to California with its huge military-industrial base.

The results show—and are felt—already. Besides cutting road and education spending, Thompson has proposed nearly a quarter billion dollar cut in Medicaid—reducing rates of payment, coverage and eligibility. He has laid off 300 state workers, slated another 1,400 for dismissal next year and will probably fire another 1,240 if AFSCME doesn't agree to a five-day "furlough" for all state workers without any job guarantees.

The need for state-funded general assistance has grown: poor people face food stamp reductions, long-term unemployment has worsened and many disabled people have been forced off social security and on the general assistance rolls (although eventually hearing judges are restoring around 70 percent of those dropped). Yet Thompson, fighting the courts all the way, cut the maximum benefit from \$190 a month to \$144. Also, any poor person must spend the equivalent of six months worth of "excess income" above that reduced level on medical care before becoming eligible for medical assistance.



Illinois Governor James Thompson has adopted his own Reagan-style program.

"It gets harder to help the down and out," Rep. Barbara Currie, a liberal Chicago Democrat, complained, "just as more and more middle-class people become down and out as a result of the recession." Social service agencies must compete for the 25 percent reduced funding under the consolidated block grants, and the losers tend to be programs for the very poor and most vulnerable as well as newer programs, such as women's shelters, day care or rape counseling.

"Thompson is using the budget to cut programs he wanted to get rid of all along," argues leading liberal Rep. Woods Bowman, noting another state parallel with Reaganism. "Why else would he try to close the Illinois visually handicapped unit, the only residential center in the state, which only costs \$900,000 a year?" Although the center for the blind was saved, Thompson is still proceeding—despite family protests and court suits—to close three mental health facilities, including one for mentally retarded adults in Reagan's home town, Dixon.

If the new federalism was intended to mean that states and localities would do in a better fashion what the federal government had usurped, then Illinois has failed the test. But if it was intended as another Trojan horse—like the "supply side" tax cut—to redistribute wealth to the rich and eliminate compassion from government, then Illinois is a shining success story.



Banks

Continued from page 3

probably \$300-\$400 billion worth of bad loans held by American and European bankers, and there is growing uneasiness about the security of the banking system. One big bank—say Chicago's Continental Illinois or Chase Manhattan in New York—could suffer a sharp plunge in its earnings, and that's going to frighten a lot of people....So you could have a mass run on the banks, FDIC or no FDIC, very similar to the runs of the '30s....The possibilities for disaster are great. You can count on it not coming 'til after (the elections in) November, but after that, any time. It might be a Christmas present....people are frightened. Even experienced money managers, when you talk to them, say they are worried about putting money into banks, and I haven't heard that kind of talk in a long time...."

• Howard Wachtel, chairman of the economics department, American University: "Hundreds of billions of dollars in debt is owed by Third World countries that will never be paid. The banking system has no way of writing those debts off the books without causing a financial catastrophe....They could deal with such problems one at a time, but each year it gets worse. Last year, they solved Zaire, the year before Peru, six months ago Poland. But more money is now involved. The bankers could handle a country at a time, but what if three, four, or five countries are defaulting, as you have

right now?"

• David Jones, senior vice president and chief economist at Aubrey G. Lanston & Co., a leading Wall Street government securities firm: "The general feeling is that we probably have the most serious world financial crisis since World War II....There have never been as many companies and countries under such severe financial pressure....We may have a big bankruptcy or default a week between now and the end of the year. It's like a series of dominoes. We've never had anything like this before. The size of the potential difficulty simply overwhelms the IMF....I don't know how it's going to turn out. Any economist who says he knows how we're going to get through this is just fumbling in the dark."

All this, of course, is not to say that the great crash has finally arrived or that it will definitely take place this week, this month or this year. But the strains in the financial system are undeniable and appear to be growing more acute with each passing week.

Much depends on the outlook for economic growth. As late as last December, the Europe-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was predicting 3 percent growth for 1982. The OECD is now predicting 2.5 percent growth for 1983. If it is right, the pressure on the debtor nations and companies may let up a bit. But if it is wrong next year as it was this one, the bankruptcies and defaults will spiral, likely tipping the financial system over the edge and into the abyss.

The problem of spiraling debt is not limited to Third World countries, but affects all participants in the economy.

Thus the Mortgage Bankers Association of America reports that payments on one homeowner's loan in 18 is now a month or more overdue, while the proportion of mortgages foreclosed because of nonpayment is the highest in three decades.

Notable busts.

The list of companies in trouble seems to grow week by week. Most notable among the corporate bankruptcies this year was the failure of Penn Square Bank in Oklahoma, taking with it \$2 billion in debts negotiated in behalf of other banks, including Continental Illinois and Chase Manhattan. Penn Square was a casualty in the crash in domestic oil drilling. So was Nucorp Energy, which had borrowed \$465 million by the end of 1981 to put together a mini-empire of 16 drilling companies and huge inventories of tubular oil field goods. Nucorp just recently filed for bankruptcy under Chapter 11.

Notable busts among financial firms include Drysdale Securities, with \$290 million in debt, and Lombard-Wall, which was dealing in money-market funds. Airlines have been hit especially hard. Braniff, which owes more than \$1 billion to nearly 10,000 creditors, has already declared bankruptcy, while Pan American (total debt: \$1.2 billion), Republic Airlines (\$1.2 billion also) and Eastern Air Lines (\$1.7 billion) are all reportedly experiencing financial difficulties.

Meanwhile, industrial giants like Chrysler and International Harvester teeter on the brink, while U.S. Steel, which only showed a small profit last quarter because it acquired Marathon Oil, has begun unloading timberland

and real-estate holdings "at a distressed price," according to Aubrey G. Lanston's David Jones. Total corporate bankruptcies have been averaging 568 a week since the end of July, according to Dun & Bradstreet, the economic data firm, up 41 percent from the previous month and 75 percent over the same period last year.

Similar conditions exist in Canada and Western Europe. Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau shocked bankers on September 7 when he said his government would not bail out Dome Petroleum, which has debts of \$8 billion. "So a lot of people around the world make a mistake, including our renowned and very responsible banks, and you're asking me, 'Are we going to bail it out?'" Trudeau said in a radio interview. "The answer is no, we weren't going to bail it out." Observed one Canadian investments analyst: "...a failure by Ottawa to help out now could bring down the entire Canadian financial establishment."

In West Germany, meanwhile, failures rose 27 percent in 1981 and 30 percent so far this year, according to *Institutional Investor* magazine. Corporate bankruptcies were up 20 percent in France, while in Britain they rose 38 percent in 1980, 26 percent in 1981 and 22 percent in the first half of the 1982. The great corporate casualty so far in Western Europe is AEG-Telefunken, which took with it 123,000 jobs just last month.

Of the various nations in financial trouble, the most prominent, of course, is Mexico, with \$80 billion in debt, \$60 billion of it owed to private banks and \$29 billion of it due this year. *Business Week* recently estimated that \$13.5 billion of that is held by 10 of America's largest banks, including BankAmerica (\$2.75 billion), Citicorp (\$2.5 billion), Chase (\$1.75 billion) and Manufacturers Hanover (\$1.5 billion).

The other looming financial problem is Argentina, which owes \$24.8 billion, \$10.9 billion of which is due in the second half of 1982. Beyond that, banking experts say that the list of countries in trouble is virtually the same as the list of the heaviest Third World borrowers, plus Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Countries already in the process of attempting to work out new payment schedules for their debts include Rumania, Bolivia, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Zaire, Liberia, Senegal, Sudan, Uganda, Togo and Madagascar, as well as Mexico, Argentina and Poland.

Despite David Rockefeller's insistence in Toronto that international bankers behaved with all due caution in the '70s, others are honest enough to admit that, well, maybe things *did* get a little out of hand there for a while.

As Christopher McMahon, deputy governor of the Bank of England, conceded in a recent article in *Institutional Investor*: "There is little doubt that in the first flush of exuberance in the Euromarkets after the 1973 oil shock, there was a feeling that sovereign lending was risk free. Many bankers would admit, if they were being candid, that in those early stages there was often inadequate assessment of individual country risk...in a number of cases indiscriminate enthusiasm on the part of loan salesmen may have served to encourage borrowers to take on commitments that they were ill-equipped to shoulder when the going became more difficult." (emphasis added)

Finally, while it is more difficult to resist a cheer or a chortle at the thought of a major bank or corporation going under, it is sobering to think of the vast numbers of ordinary people—peasants, workers, the middle class—who have already suffered from the economic crisis and are bound to suffer further. Bertolt Brecht, in *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, said it best:

When the house of the great man collapses

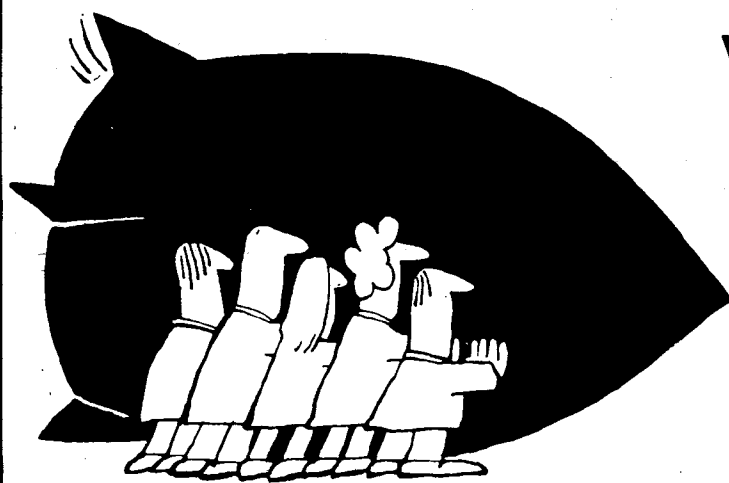
Many small folk will be crushed under the ruins.

Those who never shared the fortune of the mighty

Will often share their downfall.

Daniel Lazare is a reporter for *The Record* in Hackensack, N.J.

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TENTATIVE ITINERARY

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Friday Nov. 12—West Berlin—Response of the Peace Movement to Rearmament: Lecture, slide show, discussions and workshops (morning & afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 13—West Berlin—City Politics and Community Organizing in Berlin: Alternative bus tour of city with lecture and discussions (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 14—East Berlin—History of Fascism: Visit to Sachsenhausen concentration camp (morning); Politics of Peace in the German Democratic Republic: Visit with government representatives (afternoon)

Monday Nov. 15—Dortmund—East/West Trade, the Gas Pipeline Deal and U.S. Foreign Policy: Visit turbine or pipe factory (afternoon); viewpoints of Industry, Labor and representatives from the foreign offices of West Germany and the Soviet Union (evening)

Tuesday Nov. 16—Dortmund—Nuclear Power and Alternative Energy: Visit nuclear power plant at Hamm (morning & afternoon); Green Party, ecologists and alternative economists (evening)

Wednesday Nov. 17—Cologne—War & Reconstruction: Slide show and lecture on WWII bombing raids (morning); walking tour of old section of the city (afternoon)

Thursday Nov. 18—Bonn—Disarmament Politics, Parliamentary Parties and the 1984 Federal Elections: Talks and discussions with Christian Democrats (morning), Social Democrats (afternoon)

Friday Nov. 19—Amsterdam—Disarmament Politics and Parliamentary Parties in Holland: Talks and discussions with Workers' Party, Christian Democrats, Pacifist Socialist Party, Communist Party-Netherlands (afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 20—Amsterdam—The Peace Movement and Alternative Politics: Representatives of various social movements (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 21—Return to New York City

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ITI

GREENSBORO, N.C.

Grand jury investigates Klan killings

By Alex Charles

GREENSBORO, N.C.

NOVEMBER 3, 1979. A WELL-armed car caravan of 30 Ku Klux Klan members and American Nazis are led by Greensboro police informant Edward Dawson into the predominantly black neighborhood of Morning-side Homes where the Communist Workers Party (CWP) is beginning a "Death to the Klan" rally.

A stick fight ensues. Shots are fired. Then members of the United Racist Front unload weapons from a car trunk, gun down some demonstrators, calmly disassemble their firearms and drive off while police detective Jerry Cooper looks on.

Minutes later, Greensboro police arrive as CWP leaders Dr. James Waller, Saudi Smith, Cesar Cauce, William Sampson and Dr. Michael Nathan lay dead or dying.

A year later, on Nov. 17, 1980, an all-white jury acquits six Klan members and neo-Nazis of first degree murder and felony riot in the deaths of the five demonstrators. At that time, many trial observers state that trial improprieties—including the unabashed anti-Communist bias of the district attorney and jury combined with defense team red-baiting—all but precluded a guilty verdict. Cries of cover-up and government complicity are then fueled by District Attorney Michael Schlosser's failure to indict or subpoena Edward Dawson and Bernard Butkovich, government operatives who were involved in planning the caravan.

The acquittals prompt demonstrations across North Carolina. Political, civil rights and religious groups call for a federal investigation of the killings.

Responding to the demands for an investigation, the Justice Department in



Nazi leader Roland Wayne Wood (above) was one of six men acquitted of first degree murder and felony riot in the deaths of five anti-Klan demonstrators.

December, 1980, claims that it has no "jurisdiction." But as public pressure mounts and the Justice Department continues to stall, outgoing U.S. attorney for the Middle District of North Carolina, H.M. Michaux Jr., makes public in May 1981 his recommendation to the Justice Department that it bring federal criminal charges against several Klan members and Nazis.

In March of this year—when the Greensboro case has become a political liability of sorts for the Reagan administration—a special federal investigative grand jury is impanelled by the Justice

Department to investigate possible civil rights violations stemming from the slayings.

During the past six months, the grand jury in Winston-Salem, N.C., has heard testimony from more than 120 witnesses. According to Justice Department attorney and grand jury prosecutor Michael Johnson, this is the most extensive federal civil rights grand jury probe ever conducted.

At the opening of the trial, prosecutor Johnson publicly said that "politics are not an issue" and promised a complete investigation of alleged police, FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) involvement.

Yet at the same time members of the CWP were plastering "wanted" posters—bearing pictures of Dawson and Butkovich and asking "Will Reagan Legalize Assassination in the U.S.?"—on telephone poles and buildings in several U.S. cities. Despite Justice Department disclaimers, and CWP hyperbole aside, politics is the issue.

Following is a summary of testimony from the grand jury probe and new information that has come out of the investigation.

FBI cover-up?

• On Nov. 6, 1979, three days after the shootings, Andrew Pelczar, head of the Greensboro FBI office, had stated that the CWP had been under investigation from Oct. 23 to Nov. 2, 1979, because of their frequent statements encouraging "the use of violence to achieve its goals." Pelczar's superiors in Washington later denied this. Yet Daisy Crawford, a union organizer from Salisbury, N.C., told the grand jury that less than a week before the ill-fated rally, two FBI agents visited her trailer home. She said the men told her they were with the FBI, flashed FBI badges and asked her to identify people in some pictures they brought with them.

"Then I got the shock of my life," Crawford told the grand jury. "They showed me a picture of Sandi Smith." The agents also showed her pictures of four men whom she now believes may have been the other four CWP members slain with Smith in Greensboro.

Crawford, a friend of Smith, said she had phoned Smith after the agents left and told her to warn the organizers of the rally that "something is wrong." As a result of the visit, Crawford, who originally planned to attend the rally, decided not to go.

• Corroborating other evidence of an

FBI investigation of the CWP prior to November 3 is a letter dated May 1, 1981, sent by Robert Pence, special agent in charge of the Charlotte, N.C., FBI office to Marv Glass of Santa Barbara, Calif. The letter is a reply to Glass' Freedom of Information Act inquiry and reads in part: "In response to your

Less than two weeks before the Nov. 3, 1979, rally, two FBI agents visited the home of Daisy Crawford.

request for 'your agencies (FBI) investigation of the CWP...that began on or about Oct. 23, 1979,' this information had been previously reported to Federal Bureau of Investigation Headquarters, Washington, D.C." In a telephone interview Pence told *In These Times* that he cannot comment during the grand jury proceeding.

• In a television interview soon after the shootings, FBI agent Pelczar stated that the FBI had no reason to anticipate violence at the rally. But Klan Imperial Wizard Joe Grady told reporters after his grand jury testimony that he met with two FBI agents prior to November 3 and warned them of possible violence. Grady said that he realized the likelihood of bloodshed after a confrontation between pipe, club and chain wielding anti-Klan demonstrators including Workers Viewpoint members (now CWP) and armed Klan and Nazis during the summer of 1979 in China Grove. At that time anti-Klan demonstrators captured two Confederate flags from the Klan and Nazis and set them ablaze.

Humiliated, the groups banded together to create the United Racist Front in order to seek retribution—to "kill niggers" and "Jew-Communist scum." The CWP then sent an "open letter" challenging Grady's Klan group to attend the "Death to the Klan" rally. CWP leaflets announcing the rally were peppered with rhetoric such as "Smash the Klan with the correct understanding and armed self-defense." Grady said he advised his fol-

Continued on following page



Nelson Johnson (above, center) is arrested by Greensboro police officers for inciting to riot in the aftermath of the shootings that left five people dead.

Jury

Continued from preceding page
lowers not to go to Greensboro and he did not ride in the caravan.

Butkovich: government provocateur?

Shortly after the shootings in Greensboro, the local press reported that BATF undercover agent Bernard Butkovich had infiltrated the Nazi Party in North Carolina during the summer of 1979. Butkovich attended a planning session for the Klan-Nazi caravan two days before the shootings but did not ride in the November 3 caravan. According to the *Greensboro Daily News* on the day after the shootings, Butkovich was allowed to talk with Nazi suspect Roland Wayne Wood at the Greensboro Police station. Soon after, Butkovich disappeared.

Nazi Roger L. Shannon bolstered theories of government complicity when he told the grand jury that Butkovich acted as a provocateur prior to the rally. Shannon testified that Butkovich often agitated at Nazi meetings for the commission of violent acts and even suggested assassinating Klan leader Joe Grady when he opposed the creation of the United Racist Front. According to Shannon, Butkovich called soon after the shootings and told him to hide the Nazis involved in the killings as well as Butkovich's AR-15 semi-automatic rifle.

In reference to the fact that Butkovich attended one of the final caravan planning sessions but called neither the Greensboro police nor any other police agency, Nazi Gorrel Pierce told the grand jury that Butkovich must have realized

the potential for violence. "The blood of these five people are on the government's hands," Pierce said.

While Butkovich was interviewed at length by the district attorney and the defense team prior to the state murder trial, he was not called to testify or indicted. Butkovich testified before the grand jury but has refused to talk to reporters. BATF officials have stated that an internal investigation cleared him of wrongdoing. Freedom of Information Act requests for the BATF internal report have been denied.

Edward Dawson's role.

While Greensboro police officials admitted knowing about the Klan-Nazi caravan long before November 3, they neither warned the demonstrators nor were on hand to protect them. They claimed they were "confused" about the rally's starting point. The CWP initially advertised its march as beginning at 11 a.m. at the Winsor Community Center while the parade permit listed the Everitt-Carver intersection (the actual starting point) and a noon starting time.

Regarding this disparity, CWP spokesperson Nelson Johnson told the grand jury that police could not have been mistaken about the starting point because he had penciled the march route on a map for Captain Gibson of the Greensboro police tactical unit. Johnson testified that Captain Gibson assured him on Oct. 19, 1979, that there would be police protection at the rally and that the police knew of no Klan response.

But according to police informant Edward Dawson, the Greensboro police knew he was to attend an October 20 Klan rally in Lincolnton and that the Klan might be gearing up for a November 3 trip to Greensboro. Klan leader Virgil Griffen asked Dawson to attend

The most likely result of the Winston-Salem grand jury investigation is that the Klan members and Nazis will be indicted again.

the October 20 Klan gathering after reading about the "Death to the Klan" rally in the paper. At a closed meeting following the rally and cross burning, Dawson recruited 60 of the 90 Klan members in attendance. Dawson later told the Greensboro police that 200 Klan members would attend the Greensboro rally and was paid \$50 for this information.

On November 1, Dawson again met with his police contact. As he was leaving, another officer—whom Dawson had refused to name—informed him that the starting point of the march had been changed and handed him a copy of the parade permit.

At 3 a.m. on November 3, Dawson met with Klansmen Virgil Griffen, Jerry Paul Smith and Coleman Blair Pridmore. Smith had a magnum pistol and Griffen had a small caliber pistol. Several hours later Dawson called Greensboro police detective Jerry Cooper at his home and reported the guns he had seen and told Cooper that he was heading for the caravan starting point. At mid-morning, Dawson again called detective Cooper and told him: "There was 12 to 14 people at the house and they had guns, everybody had a gun."

At 11 a.m. the caravan left for the rally with Dawson riding in the lead car. Cooper followed the caravan in an unmarked car. According to an Institute for Southern Studies (ISS) report (based on police transcripts of radio conversations), Cooper radioed Sergeant Burke of the tactical unit at 11:06 telling him that the nine-car caravan was approaching the rally site. At this time and when the shooting began, most of the two tactical squads assigned to provide surveillance for the marchers were eating lunch. Before the caravan reached the marchers, the remaining officers near the march were ordered via radio to clear the area.

At 11:22 a.m. Cooper radioed Lieutenant Daugherty advising him that the caravan was driving past the protesters. Cooper described the Klan and Nazis as "heckling the demonstrators." Not until after the stick fight started did Cooper radio for help and even then he continued to watch what he described as heavy fire coming from caravan members in a yellow van.

In mid-November, 1979, the Greensboro police released their administrative report on the incident. The report concluded that "the police officers assigned to the march performed their duty in a professional and reasonable manner" and blamed the delayed police response on confusion created by the Communist demonstrators. Police inaction was also excused because "there was insufficient probable cause to stop and or arrest the members of the caravan."

Informant Edward Dawson was not subpoenaed or indicted at the state murder trial for his role.

CWP culpability?

The scope of the grand jury investigation is not limited to Klan, Nazi, police and federal agency conduct. The Justice Department has warned Greensboro Justice Fund attorneys representing the demonstrators that their clients can be indicted. Although the great majority of the 75 anti-Klan demonstrators were unarmed, two CWP members, Dorothy Blitz and Claire Butler, have testified

that they fired several shots at Klan and Nazis during the melee after the shooting began. These handguns have been turned over to federal ballistics experts for analysis.

Government orchestrated conspiracy?

The CWP contends that the Greensboro killings were the result of a government-planned conspiracy.

While not theorizing about motives, Jim Waters, a TV cameraman who filmed the killings, told the grand jury that "it looked like a planned operation, executed like a military operation." He then said that the Klan and Nazis seemed to be aiming at particular demonstrators. At least one other cameraman gave similar testimony.

Additionally, in a Nov. 6, 1979 *Winston-Salem Journal* story, Klansman Joe Grady was quoted as saying that a person who brought most of the weapons—but did not attend the rally—told Nazi Raeford Caudle that he knew who was to be shot. The CWP believes that this man was Butkovich.

Special prosecutor.

On August 3 of this year, a delegation of civil rights activists—led by Rev. Leon White, director of the United Church of Christ, Commission For Racial Justice—demanded that a special prosecutor be appointed to head the grand jury investigation. "Evidence of government involvement in the killings and cover-up is too strong, the conflict of interest (within the Justice Department) is too great for us to expect justice," Rev. White said at a press conference in Raleigh.

Prior to the start of the investigation Federal Judge Rich C. Erwin denied the Greensboro Justice Fund's request for a special prosecutor. Justice Fund attorneys Lewis Pitts and Gayle Korotin argued that Justice Department prosecution is tainted by their simultaneous defense of Dawson and Butkovich in the \$48 million civil suit filed by the Justice Fund. Responding to the move for a special prosecutor, Justice Department attorney Michael Johnson told *In These Times* that he "feels no pressure or conflict of interest" citing Justice Fund attorneys as his main source of information about the civil suit.

In addition, the Justice Department has already exonerated the Greensboro police of any wrongdoing. In an April 1980 letter from Drew G. Days III, assistant attorney general, civil rights division of the Justice Department, to Tom Osborne, Greensboro city manager, Osborne was informed that "there is no basis for liability under the federal criminal civil rights statutes on the part of any member of the Greensboro Police Department." Grand jury prosecutor Michael Johnson headed up the Justice Department's investigation, which consisted of reviewing an FBI report and the administrative report of the Greensboro police.

As the grand jury investigation draws to a close it appears unlikely that a special prosecutor will be appointed. And even if indictments are issued and followed by a trial and convictions, the full extent of government involvement in the Greensboro killings may never be revealed.

The most likely result of the Winston-Salem grand jury investigation is that the Klan members and Nazis will be indicted again. They are natural scapegoats and millions of viewers across the country watched as they pulled the triggers.

But historically, the convictions of avowed racists have not put a damper on government involvement in instigating crimes. And the government has a history of criminal entanglement with the Klan. In 1975, the Senate Intelligence Committee revealed that the FBI had organized 41 Ku Klux Klan chapters in North Carolina during its Counterintelligence Program during the '60s. According to then Sen. Morgan of North Carolina, "We've already established that some of their informants were more than [simply informants]. They were also instigators." ■

Alex Charns is a recent law school graduate and a stringer for the *New York Times*.

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IN THE WORLD



MIDEAST

The Arab summit: falling dominoes

By Claudia Wright

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 15

SHUKRI AL-QUWATLI, ONE OF Syria's political leaders 30 years ago, once gave this warning about Syrian politics: They are ungovernable, he said. "The Prophet himself traveled this far and turned back. Fifty percent of the Syrians consider themselves national leaders, 25 percent think they are prophets and 10 percent think they are gods."

The skill of the Syrians, under the regime of President Hafiz al-Assad today, no less than in Quwatli's time, has been their ingenuity for extricating themselves from disaster, for extracting confidence out of weakness, power out of internal division and international support despite actions that isolate them from all of their neighbors.

It is this skill that made the Syrian president the dominant figure at the Arab summit conference in Fez, Morocco, that ended on September 9. King Hassan of Morocco was the adroit chair and manipulator of the agenda and debate. Yasir Arafat, chair of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was the star attraction. But it was Assad who made the decisive moves—to block Egypt's return to the Arab League, to delay Arab recognition of the president-elect of Lebanon, Bashir Gemayel, and to produce the compromise over the Saudi and American proposals for the Palestine that will prevent King Hussein of Jordan from taking the negotiating role President Ronald Reagan offered him in his September 1 speech.

Although Damascus itself is under direct threat of attack by the Israelis, and Syrian forces in northern and eastern Lebanon are sitting almost defenseless under Israeli air attack, Assad was able at Fez to preserve Syria's veto over the future direction of Arab-American negotiations and at the same time collect pledges of increased financial support

for his depleted and embattled treasury.

Arab summit meetings are not like the annual rituals of the Western alliance. Of course, there is the ceremonial—King Hassan, incumbent of the oldest continuous royal dynasty in the world, will not be outdone by the relatively short-lived royal families or republics of Europe or North America. The palace of Versailles at which French President Francois Mitterrand recently entertained the Western leaders cannot outshine the palace of Fez except in its newness. The French fireworks show that celebrated the end of the Versailles summit last June was more than equaled by the cavalry and musketry display of Morocco's royal horsemen last week.

As at Western summits, the delegates arrive in armor-plated autos and are carried along red carpets by phalanxes of bodyguards. Retainers carry briefcases and advisors guard the rear. But once the doors close, a meeting of Arab heads of state becomes a unique phenomenon—far more personal, frank and flexible than a similar session of Western heads of state, whose every word has been programmed by staff memoranda hours, often days or weeks in advance.

For this reason King Hassan wanted to make sure the palace doors closed more tightly than they had at the first, acrimonious session of the Fez summit last November. Nonetheless, these details have become available from officials who were there.

At the preliminary meetings, Hassan and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia told other delegates that a motion they were backing to lift Egypt's suspension from the Arab League—imposed after President Sadat signed the Camp David accords of 1978—was certain to be approved. The confidence leaked into the Cairo press immediately, but stopped there. Assad argued vigorously against the motion, and it was tabled and referred to a committee.

After Egypt was disposed of, Hassan arranged for the presidents of Syria and

Iraq, the two contending heads of the Baath party and the two generals whose armies are under siege at opposite ends of the Mideast, to air their grievances.

Since August 1979, when a unity proposal between the two states was abruptly terminated by the Iraqis, there has been bad blood between Assad and Hussein. Assad has sided with Iran in the Iraq-Iran war, and since March he has closed the Syrian-Iraqi border and cut off Iraq's oil pipeline that crosses Syria to the Mediterranean. In an extraordinary session lasting several hours, Assad and Hussein took turns detailing the coup plots, assassination schemes, bombings and other skulduggery each man holds the other responsible for. But by the end the two presidents had adopted the intimate Arabic form of address—"Brother Hafez," "Brother Saddam"—although there were no specific agreements and no commitments to restore the border crossings or the pipeline.

Lebanon.

This was the next problem tackled. There had been a preliminary squabble over how Lebanon would be represented—whether the lameduck president Elias Sarkis would attend the summit alone or together with President-elect Gemayel. The latter's election had been sharply criticized by Syria, the PLO and the Lebanese Moslem community for being a fraud imposed by Israel. It was decided

It was Syria's Assad who initiated the decisive moves.

by way of compromise that Lebanon would be represented by Joseph Abu Khatir, an official without any political weight nor the power to represent anyone in Lebanon.

This choice made it easy for the other Arabs to brush aside the Lebanese demand that the League end its mandate for Syrian forces to remain in Lebanon, since Khatir was in no position to negotiate the quid pro quo the Syrians were seeking—the simultaneous withdrawal of Israeli forces. But Lebanon continues to put the League in a quandary. Sarkis and, before his assassination on September 14, Gemayel, had been told privately

by U.S. ambassador Philip Habib to ignore the League. Without Egypt—Habib is reported to have told Lebanese officials—the League is nothing, and Lebanon's future must be negotiated instead with Washington, Jerusalem and Cairo. At Fez the PLO believed Gemayel was spoiling for a break with the League, in order to leave it voluntarily or to provoke suspension for signing, like Egypt, a peace treaty with Israel.

The League wants to head off both possibilities. The Saudis in particular thought they could restrain Gemayel by offering the funds he and his supporters need for the reconstruction of Lebanon. They won agreement on paying \$2 billion, pledged by the Arabs to the Sarkis government since 1976 but unpaid until now. More in the corridors than in the formal sessions, the debate on Lebanon focused on how to deal with Gemayel and prevent a Lebanese-Israeli pact. Gemayel had reportedly sent private assurances that he would "stay within the Arab consensus" and "preserve the Arab vocation of Lebanon," but he wasn't trusted. Saeb Salam, the former prime minister and de facto leader of Lebanon's Moslem community, had been bargaining with Gemayel for the prime ministership, and he too urged the PLO and the other Arabs to arrange a modus vivendi with the new president.

Assad is in several minds about Lebanon. He has been closely aligned in the past with former Lebanese president, Sulaiman Franjeh, who had been leading the resistance to Gemayel until his death, but Assad also accepts the urgent necessity, under Israeli and American pressure, of protecting his forces. According to Palestinians who were at Fez, Assad said he was ready to withdraw from Lebanon immediately, even if that meant exposing the Palestinians, Franjeh's militia and other Lebanese Moslem forces to immediate attack from the Israelis or the Phalangist militia. Arafat, it is said, intervened to persuade Assad not to accept the Lebanese demand for withdrawal. Assad has made such offers before, and according to another interpretation, he was only feinting and bluffing Arafat, forcing the PLO to take Syria's side for their mutual survival.

Gemayel's assassination.

By the time the president-elect was assassinated on September 14, he had managed to convince the leaders of his own party, the Phalange, as well as the Mos-

Continued on page 22

Chicago housing project residents organize for jobs.

By Harvy Lipman

CHICAGO

HENRY HORNER HOUSING project looms over Chicago's Near West Side like a high-rise prison. Its eight, red-brick buildings, housing more than 2,000 residents, cover a five-square-block area. Each apartment sits off an open-air hallway, enclosed by a heavy metal mesh that gives the place its jail-like atmosphere.

Horner has all the other trimmings that are so distressingly familiar to inner-city projects—smashed windows, paint peeling from walls and ceilings, elevators that break down as often as they work, cockroaches and youth gangs that constantly war on each other and terrorize the neighborhood.

It also has an unemployment rate that residents estimate is higher than 20 percent, which goes a long way toward explaining all the other problems at the project. Of course high unemployment rates aren't unique to this particular black neighborhood. The official federal figures for the first quarter of 1982 list the national unemployment rate for non-whites at 16.3 percent. The Urban League, taking into account people who have stopped looking for work and those who want full-time jobs but can find only part-time ones, estimates the minority unemployment rate at 29 percent. In Chicago, nearly a third of all minorities are underemployed or unemployed.

The sad economic plight of America's minorities can't be blamed solely on Reaganomics, but during the 20 months since Ronald Reagan took office the jobless rate for non-whites has nearly doubled. Understandably, the administration's policies have many inner-city groups up in arms, and their anger has focused mainly on Washington. But while economic problems are basically national in scope, a few communities are trying to deal with them at the local level.

One such effort is underway at Henry Horner. At the instigation of organizers from the Chicago-based National Training and Information Center (NTIC), project residents have formed the Henry Horner Jobs Coalition. Their rallying cry is, "We have a right to a job," and behind that banner they have pressured city officials and local businesses to put area residents to work.

The right to a job.

Ron Seaton knows what it's like to have a skill and not be able to find a job. Two and a half years ago he was laid off from an Oscar Mayer meat-packing plant, and since then he's knocked on a lot of doors looking for work—without success. He also knows what it's like to face the daily fear and frustration of life in the projects.

Seaton and his brother Ned have lived in Henry Horner nearly all their lives. Ned has been shot twice and carries a bullet fragment in his back as a reminder of what that life can be like.



Calligraphy by Nicole Ferentz

When NTIC's John Allen came to the project in early December of last year to organize residents around the issue, Ron Seaton was among several responsive listeners.

"This was the first time anyone raised the right to a job as an issue in the community," Seaton says. He was impressed—so impressed that he joined the coalition and has since become its chairman. "By there not being any jobs, people in this neighborhood have more on their hands to get into all kinds of trouble. That's why we have the gangs and why we have all these shootings."

Seaton's neighbors were equally impressed with the notion of organizing to get jobs. About 300 of them jammed a YMCA gym at the project for the coalition's first meeting on January 14. The meeting stirred residents to organize around the issue, Allen was then faced with the problem of finding a concrete target for them to focus on. He found it in the city's administration of Industrial Revenue Bonds.

The bonds are administered by governments and provide private companies with low-interest loans through breaks on their federal taxes. In exchange, the companies use the money to build new plants, expand old ones or otherwise act to spur economic development and create jobs. Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne has pushed hard to get Industrial Revenue Bonds for city companies, on the premise that they would provide much needed work for city residents.

The coalition decision to make Industrial Revenue Bonds their target coincided with a *Chicago Sun-Times* investigation in mid-March revealing that the subsidies were creating only a third the number of jobs the city claimed. It also found that the city had virtually no mechanism for monitoring who filled the jobs, and suspicions that many were going to white, middle-class suburbanites.

"We want to make one thing clear," Allen emphasizes. "We're not against Industrial Revenue Bonds. We think they're a good idea. We just want to make sure the jobs go to the people who need them."

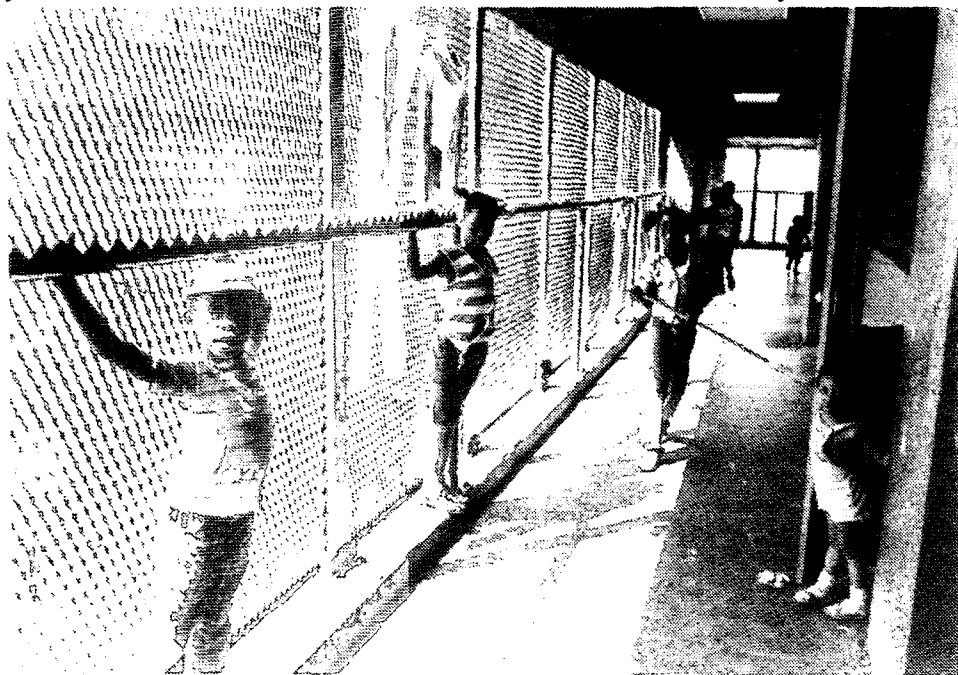
The coalition focused first on a \$1 million bond to the Goodman Electric Company. Goodman claimed the expansion would create 350 new jobs with the bond, which was the biggest such handout in Chicago, and the coalition decided Goodman therefore should be the first place to go for jobs. Coalition members met with company president Calvin Carbell (also a member of the city's Economic Development Commission [EDC] which gives out the bonds—although he wasn't appointed until after his company received the funding) and city Economic Development Director Charles Sklavakis, picketed the EDC offices and sent coalition members to Goodman headquarters to fill out job applications.

Coalition members say that since then, thereafter a Goodman staffer called to offer them 20 jobs if the coalition...

to "go away." Company officials deny that charge, and claim the Horner applicants didn't have the skills for jobs that were available.

Frustrated in their efforts to get jobs from the city's largest revenue bond recipient, the group next focused its attention on the Midwest Corp., which earlier this year received a \$2.5 million bond for plant expansion that was supposed to create about 75 new jobs. Since Midwest is located just a few blocks from the project, coalition members felt the company had an obligation to make sure some of the work went to Horner residents.

"In April we took about 30 people to their personnel office," says Seaton. "The plant manager promised he'd send somebody to a public meeting at the project."



No one from the company showed up. Though the coalition pledged to "shut down" the company by taking a few hundred residents over to block its gates, many Horner residents were beginning to wonder if the coalition wasn't going to become just another exercise in futility. "We need to have some kind of victory right away," admitted coalition board member Nathaniel Austin. "You can keep promising, and young folks, they'll listen to you for a little while. But then they get discouraged. They want some action and they get restless. I believe we need to score a victory in order to hold them."

Late in May the coalition thought it had achieved that victory. At a meeting with Mayor Byrne's aides, the group was promised 300 summer jobs for Horner residents. The mayor also pledged to develop a plan to give inner-city residents some of the jobs created by the revenue bonds. The program was to be worked out by a task force that would include coalition members.

But in the three-and-a-half months since that meeting, no task force has been formed. In fact, coalition members say they haven't heard a word from the mayor since they got the summer jobs—and even there the city let them down, delivering only 200 of the 300 promised jobs.

Despite the setback, the NTIC considers the Horner Coalition a fairly successful organizing effort—one they hope to repeat in other Chicago neighborhoods. But so far, the Horner experience is unique. There is no comparable group in other black or Hispanic sections of the city, and many grassroots training and job placement groups report funding cutbacks are making their efforts all the more difficult.

Jose Ovalle, director of the 18th Street Development Corporation (located in the city's mainly Hispanic Pilsen neighborhood), runs the only training program in the city for indigent youths who want to learn construction trades. Until last year his program turned out 60 graduates annually. Now it's down to 27.

And those who already have the skills

often can't find any work. "This morning at 7:00 five people were here wanting to work on this housing development we use as a training project," Ovalle says. "Two were carpenters, one a bricklayer, one an electrician and one a skilled laborer. They told us they'd be willing to work for less than scale, they just needed the jobs. I had to explain to them that the program is only for young kids who want to learn the trade. It was a horrible experience."

Ovalle's frustration is echoed by

Last year, Chicago became the first American city in history to meet the U.S. Census Bureau's official definition of a poverty area. More than 25 percent of the city's residents live at or below the official poverty level. As a comparison, about 19 percent of New York's population fell into that category in 1979 (the latest figures for other cities) and less than 14 percent of Los Angeles' population did.

According to a recent study by Uni-



staffers at numerous other community agencies. Most rely on some sort of federal assistance; all have been drastically cut. Federally-funded Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) programs alone account for many of the funding losses. In Chicago, CETA operates out of the Mayor's Employment and Training Office. In fiscal 1982, that office's funding was cut from about \$73 million to \$55 million. Chicago CETA officials estimate that as many as 9,000 fewer minorities will get CETA-funded training or jobs this year. And next year's CETA budget is likely to be cut even further.

Linking jobs to subsidy.

There are some other community groups trying to organize around the jobs issue, though not quite on the grassroots level of the Horner coalition. The Chicago Jobs Coalition is an umbrella organization of groups ranging from neighborhood associations to the League of Women Voters. The coalition's Ann Seng says the group formed around much the same issue as the Horner coalition—linking jobs for the inner-city's unemployed to government financial assistance for private industry.

The coalition has spent most of the past few months researching what companies received city aid, what sort of jobs they created with that aid and who got those jobs. What they've found is that those last two questions are almost impossible to answer because the city doesn't monitor recipients of Urban Development Action Grants, revenue bonds

iversity of Illinois demographics expert Pierre deVise, 86 percent of Chicago's blacks live in neighborhoods where 90 percent of the residents are black. "You won't find that concentration for any other ethnic group, not even Hispanics," deVise says. And this concentration represents an 8 percent increase since 1970.

At the same time, deVise reports that the income gap between white and black Chicagoans has increased over the past decade. While median family income for whites was rising 2 percent (adjusted for inflation), the median black family income dropped a whopping 19 percent. So black

and other programs well enough to know whether the jobs are even being created. In a report released this summer the coalition said that the city should develop a policy and program regarding city residency.

A residency drive by the Boston Jobs Coalition in 1979 won the support of Boston Mayor Kevin White, who—like Byrne today—was in the midst of a bid for re-election. But a federal Appeals Court ruled that Boston's plan—which required contractors on government-assisted projects to hire at least 50 percent city residents, 35 percent minorities and 25 percent women—was unconstitutional. That decision is being appealed to the Supreme Court.

Various community development corporations have also been trying to attract and keep businesses in inner-city neighborhoods. Pat Bell, director of the Lawndale Development Corporation in another of Chicago's black neighborhoods, says her agency has in the past year brought \$1.6 million into the community. That's translated into 300 jobs retained and 15 created. There are eight approved community development corporations in Chicago, but even combining all their efforts, they can't compensate for the jobs lost by the closing of a single U.S. Steel plant on Chicago's South Side; or the massive layoffs that have hit the city as International Harvester is pulled under in an ocean of red ink.

But that doesn't mean the neighborhood groups are ready to throw in the towel. Community organizers like John Allen say they intend to fight for whatever can be accomplished at the local level. And members of the Horner Jobs Coalition say they intend to hold Byrne to her word on creating inner-city jobs. Recalling that the bungled snow removal efforts during the 1977 election campaign helped drive former Chicago Mayor Michael Bilandic from office, Allen warns, "What the snow did to Bilandic, jobs can do to Byrne."

Harvy Lipman is a broadcast fellow at Northwestern University and former news editor at the Valley Advocate in Springfield, Mass.

families in Chicago must get by on just over half what the average white family earns.

To what does deVise attribute Chicago's high ranking in these areas?

"Well, in one sense Chicago works. There is an effective coalition of City Hall, business and labor that keeps blacks in their place. It's ethnic politics, and it works. The local government has been successful in reinforcing the white community's preference; both overtly, by the government itself engaging in discrimination, and implicitly by not enforcing laws on housing segregation."

—H.L.

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

WHY NO ZOLTON

IN THESE TIMES HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY critical of Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) for not making Zolton Ferency's campaign for governor of Michigan a major organizational effort. As a DSA member who has voted for Zolton in all five of his runs for statewide office (and written him in twice more), and worked actively in three of those campaigns, I didn't urge DSA to support him this time around. There are several reasons:

1. The fact that Zolton had run and lost in four previous campaigns had convinced many in the electorate that he couldn't win, and that a vote for him was wasted.

2. Many state party leaders, including those sympathetic to his views on issues, have a strong personal dislike for Zolton, due to his unbreakable habit—begun when he was deposed as state party chair for his opposition to the war in Vietnam, and refined in his days as leader of the Human Rights Party—of referring to them as "hacks" and "bosses"; not only is the implication of patronage-based politics far less founded in Michigan than in most states, but it is simply stupid to go around insulting party activists who largely agree with him on issues.

3. Zolton persists in insulting the labor leadership of the state by calling them "bosses"; while it is true there is a strong labor caucus at state party conventions, the relatively unified voting by that caucus, like the women's, black, and educator's caucuses, is a conscious tactic to increase influence, not a result of any patronage power held by labor leaders.

There are occasionally reasons why democratic socialists should not devote their full energies to campaigns of democratic socialist candidates. A campaign to win should be undertaken only if: a) the candidate has a realistic chance to win both the primary and general elections, the latter usually requiring an ability to unify the party; and 2) the candidate seems likely to be able to win his programs in the legislative process after election. In 1982, largely because he can't seem to break his habit of insulting natural allies, Ferency didn't meet either criterion.

—Terry K. Adams
Ann Arbor, Mich.

AS FERENCY SEES IT...

RON WILLIAMS' COMMENTARY ON the Michigan Democratic gubernatorial primary, where the Ferency campaign produced a disappointing fourth-place finish in a field of seven (*ITT*, Aug. 25) raised some provocative issues. One overriding concern requiring ongoing scrutiny is the nature of continuing relationships between democratic socialists, the established Democratic Party and organized labor.

In the meantime, some thoughts expressed by Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich) about the campaign's efforts to retain and gain support in the black community deserve immediate comment.

Conyers said that his congressional district came "close to all but giving the stamp of approval to [James J.] Blanchard," the Democratic-labor recruit who swept the primary with approximately 50 percent of the vote. To his

credit, Conyers couldn't bring himself personally to endorse Blanchard, whose dismal congressional voting record included votes in favor of continuing tax exemptions for racist colleges such as Bob Jones University; in favor of eliminating transportation of students for school desegregation; in favor of Ronald Reagan's tax cuts for the rich; in favor of increased military expenditures for MX missiles, B-1 bombers, binary nerve gas weapons, neutron bombs, etc.; but votes against every alternative to the Reagan budget, including that of the Congressional Black Caucus. But Conyers vastly understates the strength of the black coalition that participated in the recruitment and ultimate all-out support for the Blanchard candidacy.

Blanchard was endorsed and vigorously supported by Conyer's district organization, by that of Rep. George Crockett Jr. (D-Mich.), by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young's political operatives, by every ranking black UAW official, by Erma Henderson, the politically powerful black president of Common Council, Detroit's governing body, by Richard Austin, Michigan's black Secretary of State, by a majority of the politically active black churches, including the Shrine of the Black Madonna, the proponent of the politically potent *Black Slate*. The Shrine of the Black Madonna and its *Black Slate* had vigorously supported past Ferency campaigns, but this time Barbara Martin, *Black Slate* treasurer, said, ironically, "We still think Ferency is a fine candidate, but he just wasn't getting enough support from the Democratic Party."

Even though the Ferency campaign was effectively locked out of the black community by the massive effort engineered by the United Auto Worker officials and black Democratic politicians, not including Conyers, Conyers is dead wrong when he says that Ferency "didn't go into the black community."

First, Conyers knows nothing of the persistent efforts made in Pontiac, Flint, Saginaw, Lansing, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, etc., where approximately 40 percent of Michigan's black population is located. Our local black coordinators tried hard to go through and around the Democrats and the UAW in Detroit and elsewhere by working with clergy, business and professional people, government workers, and even with dissident auto workers, who are becoming increasingly fed up with UAW leadership. One notable success was a Ferency fundraising concert in Flint, featuring a reunion of The Temptations, which sold out the house and raised \$46,000.

As concerns telephone calls to Conyers and other black civic, social and political leaders, my good friend and longtime political ally John Conyers would, I'm sure, be chagrined by the list of *unreturned* calls that were made.

The 1982 Michigan Democratic gubernatorial primary is now history, but I'm one democratic socialist who is determined to remember and act upon its lessons.

—Zolton Ferency
East Lansing, Mich.

BREAKING SILENCE

LIKE ALL WHO ARE INVOLVED IN social issues, I am simply inundated, buried, smothered, submerged in literature and appeals ad infinitum.

The daily mail is a nightmare and one more piece of paper will finish me off, I truly feel! Nevertheless, I am subscribing to *In These Times*, and for one main reason: your courageous, almost lone coverage of the Israel-Lebanon war without being anti-Semitic. The silence on this from peace groups, publications, organizations and individuals of all kinds is deafening. Shalom.

—Margaret G. Holt
Amherst, Mass.

DOUBLE PLEASURE

AS A CITIZENS PARTY CANDIDATE for State Assembly, I rely on *In These Times* to keep me informed on ideas and events in left politics across the country. *ITT* is not just the best paper of its kind, it is the only one. If we lose it there is no place else to turn for the same coverage.

If the staff can take pay cuts to keep the paper alive, I'll do what I can to help. I wish it could be more, but I am not working for the duration of the campaign and expenses are piling up. Still, this is one check that it is a pleasure to write.

—Tim Joseph
Brooktondale, N.Y.

SOCIALISM MEANS SOCIAL CONTROL

GREGORY BERGMAN ("LETTERS," Sept. 8) takes us to task for being critical of Soviet accomplishments, but he missed our point. Since the 1917 revolution, the Soviet Union has vastly improved the literacy, health care, old age security and living standards of most of its citizens. Furthermore, discontented youth who so often admire the consumer products and the culture of Western capitalist nations strike us as being naive in their adulation of all things Western. Thus we agree with much of Bergman's letter, but not with his equating improved material well-being with successful socialist revolution. Revolutions are not fought simply to conquer hunger or to give old people pensions, important as these things are. Further, the very progress of Soviet society creates conditions that demand continued advances in realms that transcend pure economics: The contradictions that progress has generated will have to be dealt with by either allowing greater openness, and democratic participation, or by heightening repression.

Specifically, the Soviet Union today is a predominantly urban, highly educated society. A dogmatic and sterile state mass media that rarely transcends repetitive sloganeering may suffice for a nation where barely literate peasants are dominant. But the existing mass media is not only a slap in the face of a literate Soviet populace, it is also counterproductive because it lacks credibility. A mass media that insults the intelligence, democratic forms of electing officials that are utterly farcical—these merely alienate most Soviet citizens from the Party that claims to represent their interests. All this is reinforced by a social system that rewards workers according to the connections they keep rather than the contributions they make to society.

A revolution that so profoundly alienates its younger (and much of its not so young) generation—that has spent well over 40 years mired in political stalemate—is aborted. The contradictions are profound—freed from concern over hunger and the like, capable of achieving awareness of and appreciation for socialist democracy due in no small measure to improvements in the educational system, Soviet young people of course buck at the dogma and hypocrisy that typify the political realm. Soviet leadership has created the conditions for emergence of an advanced socialist democracy, but it also stands as the greatest barrier to its emergence. Such a leadership retains its monopoly on power through exercise of police

powers against those who take seriously Marxian notions of popular control over economic and political relations.

—Beth and Tim Bates
Fairfield, Vt.

NEVER TOO LITTLE, OR TOO LATE

ENCLOSED IS A SMALL BUT WELL-meant contribution. I hope it's not too little too late.

A friend tells me not to bother: you'll go under in three weeks anyway. The way I see it, if I didn't send some financial support now, I'd just be making that a self-fulfilling prophecy. I've never been a particularly politically active person, but I've found *In These Times* to be a clear window onto events I might otherwise have overlooked. I don't always agree with everything I read in the paper (how could that be possible?), but it's a refreshing, challenging periodical, one I'd miss were it gone.

Good luck, and I cross my fingers.

—Diane Reese
Brooklyn, N.Y.

UP FROM PASSIVITY

IT WOULD BE A GREAT LOSS TO ME IF *In These Times* ceased publication. It's played a crucial role in the evolution of my political awareness—and in my moving from passive political and social concern to activism. I rely on *ITT* for information and insight on critical issues and events around the world.

As a member of the staff of National Mobilization for Survival, I fully understand the difficulty in "remaining solvent." I wish I could contribute huge sums—but movement pay being what it is, I've contributed what I can. Good luck in this fundraising drive. The left, the country and the world need you.

—Bill Vitale
New York

NOT CHICKEN

ALTHOUGH CHICKEN-GROWING farmers in these parts are paid 2.65 cents to 3.30 cents per pound for raising frying pullets for the Colonel, a 24-hour job, it is not my intention to become a chicken-shit and watch an outstanding source of information become a memory.

Unlike General Electric, who trusts President Bonzo to give the "right" facts, I rely on *In These Times* to tickle my gray matter. Enclosed is some scratch.

—John Rabbets
Cullman, Ala.

So long, but not goodbye

Patricia Aufderheide, our cultural editor since October 1978, has resigned and taken a job as senior editor on *American Film*. Pat contributed greatly to the improvement of the quality of *In These Times* through her editing of our cultural section as well as the back page and centerspread features. Her film reviews and media industry coverage have been of particularly high quality. Fortunately, Pat will continue to write movie reviews for us and will function as our cultural correspondent, but we will miss the excitement and stimulation she provided to those of us who worked closely with her. We wish her well in her new work.

Our new acting features editor is Virginia Holbert, formerly community editor on the *Caracas* (Venezuela) *Daily Journal*. Book reviews will be the responsibility of Jay Walljasper and Emily Young.

PERSPECTIVES

"Anti-terrorist" bill threatens rights

By Louise Billotte

SAN FRANCISCO

IF PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF Representatives, an obscure piece of legislation dubbed the "Anti-Terrorist Bill" by its supporters would give foreign governments unprecedented power over U.S. residents and citizens.

The legislation is a substantial revision of extradition law. Both the House and the Senate versions of the bill permit foreign governments to request the extradition of U.S. residents and citizens for alleged crimes that may not be illegal under U.S. law. Moreover, these offenses need not necessarily have been committed in the extraditing country.

Several weeks ago Lorraine Huang, an aide to Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), said that the Senate would not act on the Extradition Act of 1982 (S 1940) in the near future. Yet only days after Huang made this assertion, the Extradition Act of 1982 was quietly passed by the Senate during the fracas surrounding the Reagan tax package. A similar piece of legislation is expected to be passed by the House during the current session. This extradition bill (H.R. 6046) was passed unanimously by both the Judicial and the Foreign Affairs Committee.

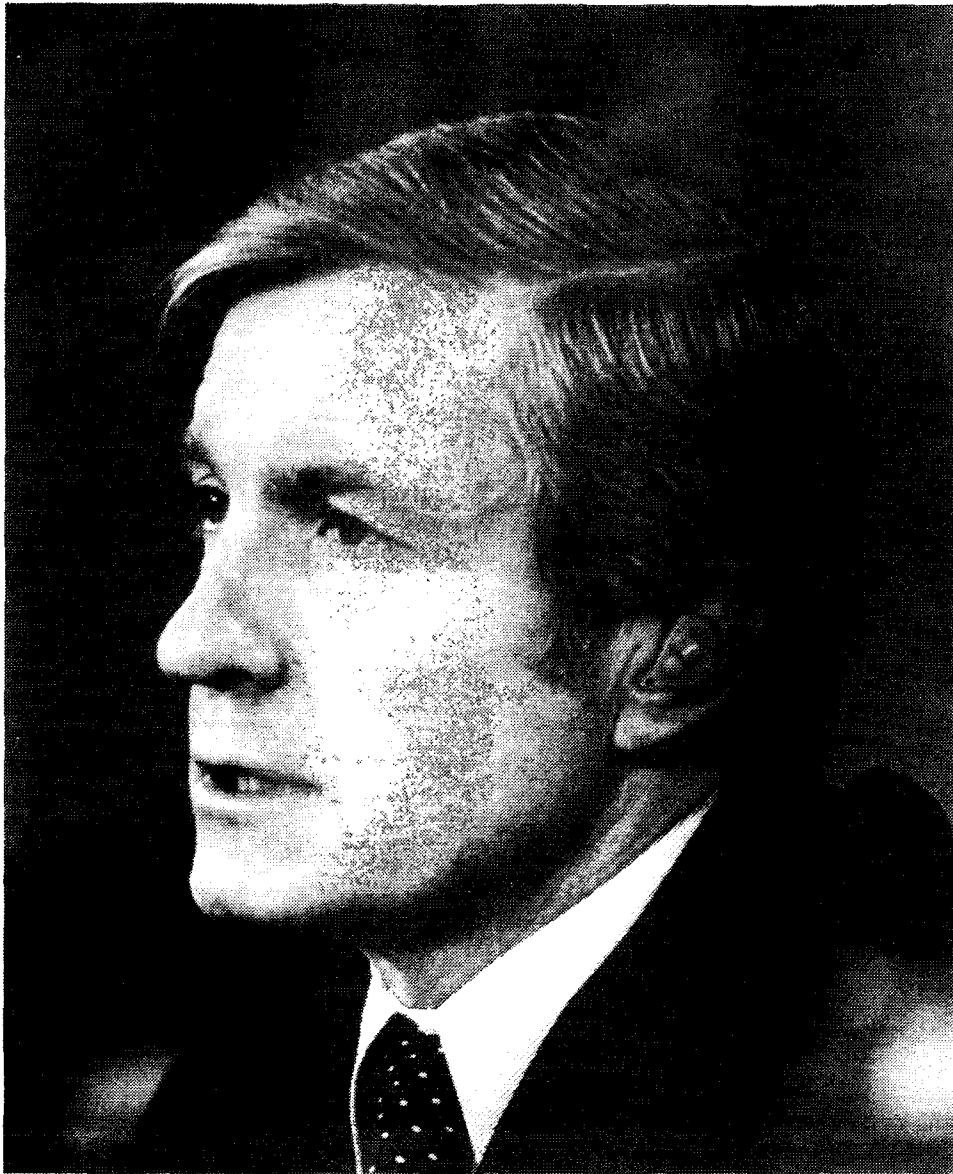


Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos already has a list of 40 people, some U.S. citizens, whom he wants extradited.

Under the existing extradition act that governs the terms of current extradition treaties, according to San Francisco immigration attorney Terry Hilbush, persons accused by foreign governments of crimes that might be construed as political are not subject to extradition. Currently, explains Hilbush, federal courts have the last word in determining whether such a crime is political in nature. "Of course the State Department has a hand in it," she says, "but it's ultimately the magistrate who determines whether the offense comes within the limitations of the treaty."

This discretion by the courts has been guaranteed for well over 100 years. As Hilbush puts it, the courts are considered "relatively immune" to political considerations. "An independent judicial inquiry," wrote Richard Falk, professor of International Law at Princeton, "was deemed from the outset to be essential if individuals were to be protected from the dangers of prosecution because of their political views and affiliations."

As originally presented by Sen. Strom



Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) amended the Senate bill to limit the State Department's power over extradition.

Thurmond (R-N.C.), the Senate bill placed ultimate power for extradition with the State Department. As amended by Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) and finally passed by the Senate, the bill more nearly resembles the House version introduced by Rep. William Hughes (D-N.J.). The House bill generally has been considered the more "liberal" version. It appears to leave the extradition hearing process in the hands of the courts. But that appearance, testified the ACLU's Legislative Counsel, Wade Henderson, is deceptive.

Like the amended version of the Senate bill, the House version significantly narrows the definition of political crimes, eliminating from that category conspiracy and crimes of violent intent. And both versions leave the final determination of what is or is not a political crime to the State Department, creating "an extradition process undoubtedly subject to political manipulation," Henderson said.

Both versions also provide for the preventive detention for up to 60 days without bail of any person—U.S. citizen or not—at the request of a foreign government, which is not necessarily required to present evidence at that time. And both bills leave to the State Department the decision (in the words of H.R. 6046) of whether "a foreign state is seeking extradition of a person for the purpose of prosecuting or punishing the person because of such persons political opinions." The State Department would also determine whether extradition of a person "to a foreign state would be incompatible with humanitarian considerations."

The new law would also govern the terms of and form the basis for new extradition treaties between the U.S. and foreign states. The U.S. presently has such treaty agreements with about 90 countries. (Interestingly, and with the exception of Rumania, none of these countries is in the Eastern Bloc.)

Long before either of the bills was passed, one such treaty was negotiated

and signed and is now awaiting Senate ratification, which is expected after passage of the Extradition Act. The U.S. Philippine Extradition Treaty was signed nearly a year ago by President Marcos and Reagan and is remarkably similar in language and intent to the legislation.

Attorney Terry Hilbush sees this new treaty as a model for future extradition treaties. And although the treaty has not yet been ratified, Marcos has already compiled and presented to the U.S. a list

of 40 persons, some of them U.S. citizens, whom he wants arrested and sent to the Philippines to face charges of subversion. Among these are Steve Psinakis, a San Francisco restaurateur and U.S. citizen who is married to a Filipina. Psinakis' wife is a member of a conservative anti-Marcos family. The Greek-born Psinakis, who has become an active organizer of anti-Marcos activity, is wanted by Marcos for a series of bombings that occurred in Manila.

The list also includes Benigno Aquino, the former Philippine Senator who now teaches at Harvard, and Rene Cruz, a Philippine journalist. Cruz is the editor of *Ang Katipunan*, the only socialist newspaper published by and for the Philippine community in the U.S. He came to the U.S. from Italy shortly after martial law was declared in his homeland, because the U.S. seemed to be the center of anti-Marcos activity.

Certainly the crimes of which Cruz is accused do not appear to be crimes at

The proposed law appears to give power over extradition to the State Department.

all. They include editing a newspaper, organizing and joining demonstrations, leafleting and lobbying. Yet under the new laws and the new treaty agreements, Cruz, Aquino, even Psinakis could be arrested, detained and ultimately sent to the Philippines to stand trial.

"Extradition," wrote Falk, "presupposes a generally reliable and trustworthy institution of government at the other end." One wonders how capable the government at this end is of making such distinctions.

Louise Billotte is a California-based freelance journalist who has reported for Berkeley's KPFA Radio and California Public Radio.

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Ruth Goldway
Mayor, Santa Monica, CA



DIALOG

ITT's stress on running socialists makes no sense

By Joseph M. Schwartz

THE ABSENCE OF A SIGNIFICANT democratic left presence in the electoral arena is deleterious not only to American politics but also to the left itself. Eschewing electoral politics almost inevitably places the left in a defensive position as simply an "anti" movement (anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-militarist, etc.). But what are we for? If we choose to contest for state power then democratic socialists must be "pro" specific, achievable radical reforms. Our ability to develop and campaign around a transitional (i.e., anti-corporate, but not fully socialist) program that strives to cope with deindustrialization, sexism, racism and mass unemployment will determine whether or not the left is relevant to the immediate needs of tenants, working people, women and minorities. One thing is certain: the politics of "anti," which has dominated the left since the collapse of the mid-'60s civil rights coalition, will never reach people who desperately need immediate, positive change.

A socialist movement must never coun-

terpose "mass" or "extraparliamentary" organizing to electoral politics. A movement to democratize basic institutions must be rooted in mass organizations (unions, community, feminist and minority) semi-autonomous from electoral politics. These movements are increasingly realizing that they must at times coalesce together into a coherent electoral expression if they are to change state policy. And democratic socialists have and should play a central role in forging these coalitions, even though their programs, while challenging corporate power, will not be fully socialist. The left must always remember that without some control over the state permanent change is impossible. On the other hand, without the pressure of mass movements upon politicians and state bureaucracies reforms often lose their bite or are molded by the institutional power of corporate interests.

Politically, democratic socialists must coordinate work in mass constituencies with electoral politics. Our most imperative task is to remobilize "the hole in the electorate"—the millions of American workers and Third World people who do not vote because they don't believe in politics as an effective means for im-

proving their lives. In the short term, these constituencies will not be mobilized in the name of socialism, but in favor of winnable progressive reforms. Of course, reform politicians are most effective when they are held accountable by mass movements. And they are most popular when they themselves have been leaders of these movements. Without the existence of a mass civil rights movement none of the Great Society reforms would have been conceivable. Democratic socialists today must devote most of their political energy to remobilizing these progressive (predominantly non-socialist) constituencies.

At the same time, we must keep our eyes on the future and endeavor to build a mass socialist organization. One of the enduring tragedies of both the '30s and '60s is that neither of these upsurges in progressive politics produced a stable democratic socialist organization. The absence of a mature, multi-generational left at the start of the '60s contributed to the New Left's impoverished understanding of American politics, the state and trade unions. And the predominantly middle-class "new politics" of the McCarthy, Kennedy and McGovern campaigns did not comprehend the need to root reform political activism in organized constituencies. If a political formation such as DSA had existed in the beginning of the '60s the course of that decade might have been different. Democratic socialists must make sure not to miss the boat next time around.

Socialist strategy within the Democratic Party.

If *In These Times* readers belonged to a truly mass socialist movement the form of our electoral activity would be simple. We would run socialist party (or socialist

caucus) candidates whose support for workers ownership, reproductive rights, rent control, affirmative action, etc., would stem in the electorate's view from the candidates' identity as a socialist. Tragically, in America today putting "Vote Socialist" on the top of one's campaign literature may do more to obscure imperative anti-corporate reforms than it does to raise them. The word "socialist" does not yet connote to the average voter anything about specific stands on the issues of the day.

Democratic socialists have a tremendous amount of movement building, political education and cultural work ahead of them before the word "socialism" will have the positive connotation it has for millions of citizens in Western Europe and the Third World. The need for such work is precisely why *ITT*'s stress on "socialist campaigns" is rather a contentless conception in 1982. If changing political consciousness were as simple as handing out leaflets saying vote for the "socialist candidate" (essentially the Socialist Workers Party's strategy, but within the Democratic Party), then we would need no popular socialist newspaper such as *In These Times*. Wouldn't *ITT*'s one million dollar annual budget be better spent on two (yes, only two) serious congressional campaigns that it could finance? And if "talking socialism" is all we have to do, why does *ITT* bother to analyze developments in the bourgeois Congress and reformist labor movement from a socialist point of view? Should not *ITT* be propagandizing for socialism full time? Obviously such an editorial perspective would transform the paper into a sterile rag irrelevant to the needs of the very people *ITT* wishes to reach. So both *ITT* and DSA correctly try to walk that tightrope between mere re-

EDITOR'S REPLY

A private and public politics

IN WESTERN EUROPE 80 TO 90 percent of potential voters regularly go to the polls, while in the U.S. the percentage of potential voters that do is barely 50 percent, and has been falling. The more intelligent political scientists attribute this difference to the fact that there are socialist or labor parties in all Western European nations, while American working people and the poor have no party to represent their interests. Instead, both major parties consistently support corporate policies on the principle that our well being depends on private profit and corporate growth.

There are several reasons for the lack of a socialist presence in American politics. The most obvious has been the relative success of American capitalism and the flexibility of our corporate leaders in accommodating the immediate demands of organized interest groups within a framework of expansion and growth.

Another is our presidential system, which has made it almost impossible for third parties to sustain themselves as serious political forces except in periods of major party disintegration, as in the 1850s when the Republican Party emerged and elected Abraham Lincoln on its second time out. Since then, over the years, the two parties have become quasi-public institutions, open by law to anyone. Until recently, socialists have insisted on operating politically as a third party, which has compounded their difficulties.

But the absence of a popular socialist politics also has to do with socialists' understanding of themselves and their beliefs. The problem is largely a legacy of

Communist Party ideology of the '30s, when Communists developed one set of beliefs they kept to themselves (and to those they were recruiting) and another for their "popular" activity. Their private vision was inspired by the Russian Revolution and the experience of Russian Communists operating in a country with an overwhelmingly illiterate population and with no democratic institutions or traditions. The principles of pluralist democracy, the free and open exchange of ideas and full civil liberties were seen as "bourgeois democracy" and secretly despised.

But Communist espousal of a "Soviet America" in the late '20s and early '30s had proved to be a dead end. So the party adopted a public politics during and after the New Deal that ignored "communist" principles and was restricted to immediate demands. With that approach, the party made important contributions to the organization of the CIO and in the civil rights movement, but it did so primarily as supporters of liberal politicians.

Because Communists dominated the American left in the '30s and '40s, socialism in the U.S. has come to be seen as anti-democratic, bureaucratic and centralist. The 19th-century socialist tradition, and the character of the American Socialist Party before the Russian Revolution, was, however, the opposite—democratic, decentralist and pluralistic. That earlier tradition inspired the organization of what is now the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), which, in our opinion, is the reason for its relative success in the field of left politics and for its poten-

tial as a rallying point for a popular movement for socialism in the '80s.

Lingering legacy.

Nevertheless, as Joe Schwartz' response to our editorials reveals, there is a tendency, even within DSA, to have a private and a public politics. True, the private politics is democratic, pluralist and decentralist, but it still is seen by Schwartz and others as something that the American people either can't understand or are not ready for. This can be seen in many of Schwartz' formulations in which he talks about "a tremendous amount of movement building" (whatever that means) before "socialism" will have "a positive connotation"—as if that process can take place without trying to win public support for socialist principles.

He also laments that, "tragically," in

Joe Schwartz'
"on the one hand
...on the other
hand" approach
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the U.S. today, putting "Vote Socialist" on the top of one's campaign literature "may do more to obscure imperative anti-corporate demands than it does to raise them," thereby setting up a straw man (no one here has ever recommended such campaign literature) while falling into his own trap of seeming to be "simply an 'anti' movement." And he supports a duality in which working for "winnable" progressive reforms "is posed against keeping 'our eyes on the future' while endeavoring to build a 'mass socialist organization.'" And, most revealing, Schwartz talks about walking a "tightrope between mere reformism and purist sectarianism."

I suggest that this "on the one hand... on the other hand" (or "walking on two legs") approach to socialist politics is a relic of the Communist experience that has been internalized by most of today's socialists, and that it functions to retard—if not make impossible—the growth of a public movement for socialism. Implicit in this approach is the idea that socialism is a set of formulas, programs or doctrines to which people are converted, so that the world (or at least the working class part of it) consists of the unconverted masses and the elite members of the church.

Our conception of socialist politics is quite different. We do not see "socialism" as the issue in American politics, but as a set of principles with which we attempt to understand the issues of the day. We counterpose these principles to the underlying principle of conservative and corporate liberal politicians, which is the protection and promotion of corporate profit. To us, the overriding issue in American public life is not socialism, but corporate capitalism and what its domination of American life means.

A politics that is centered on this issue is socialist if it can counterpose democratic control of investment to the joint conservative and liberal principle, and we see no reason why it can't or why such a politics should be withheld for some future

formism and purist sectarianism.

If we examine successful socialists (open DSA members) in electoral politics they are almost always leaders or spokespersons for community-based movements (tenants, seniors, trade unionists, gays and lesbians, etc.). More than 200 DSA members hold elective office, the most prominent among them include: Rep. Ron Dellums, New York City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger, San Francisco Supervisor Harry Britt, D.C. City Councilor Hilda Mason, Cambridge City Councilor David Sullivan, Michigan State Rep. Perry Bullard, Maine State Rep. Tom Gallagher and New York State Rep. Jerrold Nadler.

These socialist officeholders are trusted, accountable representatives of anti-corporate reform movements that include infinitely more non-socialists than socialists. Effective socialist intervention in electoral politics must build both the broad-based non-socialist democratic left and a socialist current within the democratic left. (And how to do that is a trickier strategic question than simply raising the scarlet banner high.)

In light of our movement's youth and small size, the optimal situation for serious socialist electoral candidacies today is for those candidates to represent mass non-socialist grassroots movements whose anti-corporate orientation will tolerate (or even enthusiastically back) an open socialist as their movement's candidate. Note that being "an open socialist" usually consists of being willing to be described in the press, or in smear leaflets, or in DSA publications as a socialist. Rarely do DSA members run for office solely as official DSA candidates. But by lending their names to DSA and by encouraging DSA members to play leading

When significant social forces are willing to back an open socialist, there should be no hesitation about running one.

roles in their campaigns, our most organizationally-loyal politicians facilitate recruitment among the more politicized members of their electoral and community coalitions. As DSA sinks deeper roots into community-based movements, and as members whose initial politicization occurred within DSA emerge as leading community politicians, the benefits to DSA should increase accordingly.

Today, open socialist educational campaigns do make eminent sense in certain situations—when the Democratic Party is dominated by a corrupt local machine or where the Democratic nomination is available for the asking in a rock-ribbed Republican district. Nor would it be sectarian to consider running a prominent socialist such as Michael Harrington or Ron Dellums in a few key 1984 Democratic presidential primaries if either Kennedy chooses not to run or if Kennedy runs a centrist rather than staunch left-liberal campaign. When there is political space for a prominent socialist to fill

DSA should fill it aggressively and professionally (as Michigan DSOC did in 1978 when socialist Zoltan Ferency was the only staunch left-liberal choice in the gubernatorial primary. Precisely because left-liberal forces were split over the 1982 primary choice so were the Michigan DSA locals.)

When significant social forces are willing to back an open socialist, then there should be no hesitation about running an explicit socialist campaign. Bernie Sanders was able to be frank about his socialist beliefs in the Burlington mayoral election because he had already secured the backing of all the public employee unions (including the police and fire department unions!) against a corrupt Democratic Party machine. While *ITT's* enthusiasm for Sanders is perfectly understandable, the paper's almost uncritical enthusiasm for the Citizens Party is confusing. The Citizens Party is explicitly non-socialist—not anti, but non.

In the immediate future, most of the candidates we can enthusiastically back will be staunch left-liberals. They will favor many anti-corporate reforms (focusing on growing social control over investment); but they will also favor a greater role for private enterprise than would a democratic socialist. The model for these second-best candidates are left Congressional Democrats—most of the Black Caucus, Rep. Barney Frank (D-Ma.), Rep. Phil Burton (D-Cal.), Rep. Ted Weiss (D-N.Y.), Rep. Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wis.), Rep. Byron Dorgan (D-N.D.), etc.

In working for such local, state and federal candidates are we simply building the democratic left to the exclusion of building DSA? That depends on how DSA chapters work in electoral campaigns. If we establish a solid working

relationship with the candidate and staff, DSA chapters can take responsibility for specific campaign tasks (canvassing in Ward 6, phoning on Tuesday nights, etc.). In such campaigns, the campaign workers are frequently community activists open to socialist politics. Through such work DSA gains greater exposure and respect among the engaged left-liberal community. More importantly, socialists learn the campaign skills that will enable a growing number of DSA members to become community leaders and democratic left candidates. As the socialist leaven within the democratic left becomes stronger, the opportunities for open socialist candidacies will dramatically increase. Building a mass socialist movement is a project for our lifetimes. Coordinated, chapter-based electoral work within the democratic left is one of the key first steps on that journey.

Joseph M. Schwartz is a member of the National Interim Committee, Democratic Socialists of America, and was a DSOC National Youth Organizer, 1979-1981.

Running as a socialist means being willing to be described in the press as a member of DSA.

Yes, we are only at the beginning, but a beginning means to start, not to wait; commitment, not excuses.

that always seems to get put off. We believe the American people are ready for this kind of politics, and, indeed, that in some places they are even developing such a politics without the help of "socialists."

What it all means.

All of this is directly relevant to the way in which a socialist organization should, in our opinion, operate in the electoral arena. It explains why we admired Barry Commoner's approach to the issues in the 1980 presidential campaign, even though the Citizens Party is not socialist, and even though we were skeptical about its prospects. And it explains why we endorse the concept of economic democracy and see those who develop campaigns on this issue as part of a move toward a socialist politics, even when some of them go out of their way to deny that they are socialists, as is the case in Santa Monica. And it explains why we have been critical of DSA's failure, so far, to have an effective national policy in regard to electing their own people to office.

By this we do not mean that DSA should oppose left liberals in sterile self-isolating campaigns. (In fact, we are bemused that Schwartz has read this into what we've written.) Nor do we even

think that they should necessarily oppose not-so-liberal candidates, if they are strongly supported by labor, as Blanchard was in the Michigan Democratic gubernatorial primary where Zoltan Ferency ran again as a socialist.

But that campaign is instructive about the effects DSA's lack of an electoral policy has on the left as a whole and DSA as an organization. With the UAW and other unions strongly behind James Blanchard, Michigan DSAers could have approached Ferency and suggested that he run for another statewide office if the unions would endorse him in return for withdrawing from the gubernatorial race. As Ferency had won 25 percent of the vote in the previous gubernatorial primary, the unions might have agreed to this suggestion. If so, a socialist campaign and a victory could have been possible.

Of course, Ferency might not have agreed, and even if he did the unions might not have agreed, but this is not the point. An organization that wants to be taken seriously and that is itself serious about electing socialists to public office would have made the attempt. As a result of not having done so the Michigan organization simply ended up fractured, Ferency ran badly and the idea of a socialist campaign was discredited. Losers all around.

In any case, in order to inspire a higher percentage of middle- and low-income Americans to participate in the political process there must be a group of people who espouse the principles of equality and liberty in all areas of our social life, people who are not only willing but also eager to explore what this means in terms of legislative priorities. In other words, people in and running for office on the basis of socialist principles. It is not good enough simply to support the good left liberals, though there is nothing wrong in doing that. But if that is all that is done there will be little or no reasons for half of the American population to involve itself in politics, and if they are not involved the chances for a successful social-

ist politics—that is a socialist majority—will be less than slight.

Yes, of course, we are only at the beginning of this process. But a beginning means to start, not to wait. It means a commitment, not excuses. It means looking for some reasonable number of districts in which the chances of winning a Democratic nomination for Congress is possible and in which there is then a chance of election.

It does not mean moaning about such campaigns costing \$500,000. In Indiana,

Steve Bonney, formerly of the Citizens Party, won a nomination with \$2,000, so the money is a white herring. Furthermore, many primary campaigns cost hundreds of thousands of dollars because they are run by people who can inspire no followings, other than personal hangers-on, because they have no reason for running other than personal ambition. A socialist organization that can field a hundred canvassers won't need \$500,000. One that can't won't elect anyone—even with \$500,000.

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INPRINT

ISRAEL

Diaries reveal Israel's secret strategy

Israel's Sacred Terrorism

By Livia Rokach

Association of Arab-American University Graduates, \$4.50

By Diana Johnstone

A valuable source for people trying to understand what is going on in the Mideast is the study of Moshe Sharett's diaries by Italian journalist Livia Rokach, published two years ago under the title *Israel's Sacred Terrorism*. The book is so explosive that no major publisher dared touch it; and when it finally appeared in a small press edition, with an introduction by Noam Chomsky, it was universally ignored by reviewers. Sharett's diaries were published in Hebrew in 1978, but Livia Rokach's courageous study allows the only available glimpse in the English language of the inside story of Israel's secret foreign and military policy.

Sharett wanted to advance Zionist aims with peaceful policies.

Moshe Sharett (1894-1965) was a lifelong Zionist, co-founder of the Mapai (the Israeli Labor Party) and head of the Jewish Agency's political department from 1933 on. He was Israel's first foreign minister until June 1956 when he was ousted as the climax of a long political conflict with David Ben-Gurion. In his last two years as foreign minister he was also prime minister—put there, as it turns out, by Ben-Gurion in order to make the West think that Israel really wanted peace with the Arabs, while Ben-Gurion, Moshe Dayan and Shimon Peres went about planning war. Sharett, like the late Nachum Goldmann, genuinely believed in advancing Zionist aims through peaceful political and diplomatic means. His story is a tragedy of the defeat of this approach at the hands of a resolute group of power politicians.

On the basis of this precious documentation, Livia Rokach shows how Israeli leaders used, or actually created, the "Arab threat" in order to convince the Jewish population of Israel and world public opinion that Israel had no choice but to remain at war with its Arab neighbors. This war enabled Israel to disperse the Palestinians and enlarge its territory.

The book is short but packed with astonishing revelations. Who is aware, for instance, that air hijacking in the Mideast was invented by Israel on Dec. 12, 1954? On that day, Israeli war planes forced a Syrian civilian

plane to land in Israel in order to take its passengers and crew as hostages. It was devised as a plan to force the Syrian government to release five Israeli soldiers captured the day before as they were installing wiretaps on the Syrian telephone network within Syrian territory. Recording this event in his diary, Sharett complained that his country's military leaders "seem to presume that the state of Israel may—or even must—behave in the realm of international relations according to the laws of the jungle."

Repeatedly, during his term as prime minister, Sharett was faced with border incidents or raids that Israeli armed forces had instigated and that he disapproved of. But he went along with public lies denying responsibility, while confiding to his diary fears that "nobody will believe us." In fact, the record shows that at least some American diplomats had correctly sized up Israeli intentions. Sharett noted in April 1955 that U.S. embassy reports had convinced the State Department that Israel's goal was to sabotage U.S. negotiations with Egypt, Iraq and Turkey aimed at establishing pro-Western alliances—and also to escalate tension in order to bring about a war. This was correct. Yet the West went along—thus defeating the pro-Western Sharett and boosting the Ben-Gurion group whose attitude toward the West was utilitarian if not hostile.

Defense Minister Pinhas Lavon, noted Sharett, "preached the lesson that not the Arab countries but the Western powers are the enemy, and the only way to deter them from their conspiracies is by a direct action that will terrorize them."

Much of the secret action of Ben-Gurion and Dayan was aimed at evading the security

pact offered by the U.S. to guarantee Israel's borders.

"We do not need (Dayan said) a security pact with the U.S. Such a pact will only constitute an obstacle for us. We face no danger at all of an Arab advantage of force for the next eight to 10 years. Even if they receive massive military aid from the West, we shall maintain our military superiority thanks to our infinitely greater capacity to assimilate new armaments. The security pact will only handcuff us and deny us a freedom of ac-

tion, and this is what we need in the coming years."

Sharett commented: "The conclusion from Dayan's words are clear. This state...must see the sword as the main, if not the only, instrument with which to keep its morale high and to retain its moral tension. Toward this end it may, no—it must—invent dangers, and to do this it must adopt the method of provocation-and-revenge...."

Rokach believes that Sharett, knowing what he knew and feeling as he did, missed an historic

opportunity to foil these war plans by exposing and denouncing them to the Israeli public. She concludes that Sharett's "intrinsic weakness consisted in his seemingly rational hope that the so-called liberal West would prevent the implementation of his opponents' designs. He relied on the West rather than on the awakening of a local, popular conscience that he had the power and the information to provoke but which as a Zionist he could not and dared not do."

Sharett, she writes, assumed that "Israel's survival would be impossible without the support of the West, but that Western so-called morality as well as Western objective interests in the Mideast would never allow the West to support a Jewish State that raised terrorism to the level of a sacred principle." Prominent Mapai leader David Hacohen recommended that Israelis should behave as if they were crazy in order to terrorize the Arabs and blackmail the West. To this, Rokach notes, "he replied: If we shall behave like madmen, we shall be treated as such—interned in a lunatic asylum and isolated from the world. But his adversaries proved him wrong...." Her analysis thus ends in a stinging indictment of the U.S. and other Western powers who encouraged the worst tendencies in the Israeli power elite for their own purposes.

Controversial, to say the least, this book is essential to understanding what the controversy is really about. Aside from its startling revelations about Israeli inner circles, it is a valuable contribution to the study of power politics in general.

Association of American-Arab University Graduates, P.O. Box 456, Turnpike Station, Shrewsbury, MA 01545.



Moshe Sharett, Israel's first foreign minister, often clashed with Moshe Dayan and David Ben-Gurion on defense issues.

FICTION

E.T. grows up in Kotzwinkle's novelization

E.T., The Extra-Terrestrial in His Adventures on Earth

By William Kotzwinkle
Berkeley Books, \$2.95

By Ariel Dorfman

William Kotzwinkle's narrative version of *E.T.* has removed the pulsing, dancing core of the movie. It was not his intention, I am sure, but he has smuggled us a blueprint with which to interpret the original. By reading his book, we can come to terms with

the real reasons for that film's phenomenal success. Paradoxically, Kotzwinkle's offshoot is interested in adults. Perhaps there was no other way a writer as accomplished as the author of *Doctor Rat* could avoid a dull and parasitical line-by-line repetition of the screenplay. He had to find a universe of his own to play with, and the only direction for independent development and depth was toward the senior characters.

Be that as it may, Kotzwinkle

does not care especially for the children, but is fascinated by Mary, the kids' mother, and by the extraterrestrial himself. The mother is growing old and does not like it. E.T. is 10 million years old, "older than Methuselah, as old as old," and loves it. He wants to stay that way. He would also like to return to his interstellar routes before gravity tears him asunder. Although in the book E.T. has a childlike Wordsworthian worship of living beings, it is pervaded by a "terrible and ancient knowledge," communicating with star-energies and other such elevated and inscrutable things. Mary is worried about more down-to-earth dilemmas: early menopause, late psychiatry, aching feet at work, pornography, calories and beauty cream, suburbia and recurring visions of devastating males in bed or at the door. She does not know that Kotzwinkle has injected into the space elf a rather improbable crush on her. While she

pinches away, a three-footer from the stars debates in her son's closet how best to communicate his feelings. To the story of love between children and the visitor that formed the basic plot of the picture has been added an ironic and sad description of unrequited and impossible love, a reverse fairy tale in which the frog does not gain admittance to the dormitory and never quite becomes the prince.

So nothing could push the book farther from the movie than classifying its extraterrestrial among the adults or trying to give us a notion, as Kotzwinkle does, of how the world might look through the eyes of a more evolved species stranded on our planet. Spielberg's whole strategy has been to strip the universe down to the visions and dimensions of the young. He has also, as is wont to happen in fairy tales, dared the spectators to rejuvenate themselves if they care

Continued on facing page



Universal City Studios, Inc.

"If E.T. had undergone his unfortunate space-wreck among the impoverished girls and boys of Brazil, he never would have made it to the bestseller lists."

Continued from facing page

to enjoy the show. This much has been noted by all, movie critics, spectators and film executives. Yet what seems to have escaped us, and what Kotzwinkle's novelization obliquely reveals, by turning E.T. into such a solemn and slow and ponderous old organism, is that the creature from outer space, in the movie, is also a child. His aspect may be ancient and turtlelike, but he is treated like a baby, both by his protectors and his cinematic narrators.

Foreigners as children.

Part of that childishness is, naturally, in the novel as well. It can be attributed to the hostile environment and culture where he has been abandoned. Foreigners always have that air of the newborn about them, as they try to adjust to a strange land. But E.T. is purportedly of superior intelligence, agog with magical powers. In theory, he should be able to cope very well. He has all the wisdom of the celestial spheres at his cosmic fingertips, is proficient in telekinesis and telepathy. But what happens to these diverse talents in the movie is significant. They are, in fact, pseudo-powers, bestowed upon him by the script more than by nature so that he may seem mysterious and preeminent, so that he can play with them and with us, give us a thrill or a laugh. Then they are conveniently forgotten for the purposes of the plot. In fact, he is more like a small savage from the Third World or the backlands than a Milky Way wizard. There is no reason why he should be so clumsy, why he should raid the refrigerator and spill everything, why he should get drunk, why he never proceeds beyond a pidgin English ("E.T. phone home") such as Tarzan used in his first film and countless Indians have stuttered in so many others.

Or rather, the reasons have to do with the film's strategy: Our boy from out yonder must be vulnerable, an orphan, somebody who provokes our tenderness, with whom we can all identify, full of sitcom gags. The movie does not give us time to ask these

questions. We are carried along by the frames, the music, the montage. The book, on the other hand, must try, as literature will do, to deliver a certain logical consistency to the character. So Kotzwinkle makes his space runt more wary of his action. The author will not permit him to be dressed up like Miss Piggy. He wants us to feel that we are in the presence of a god from the stars, a nuclear being, and should be properly awed. But not even he can explain why E.T. did not simply fly to his spaceship at the beginning instead of letting himself be tripped up by inferior roots and shrubs, turned into a Robinson Crusoe with duck-waddling feet and no Friday to lord it over. Kotzwinkle is trapped in the original plot.

The novel has been derived from Melissa Mathison's screenplay, and not from the finished picture. If Kotzwinkle had seen and been enchanted by the creature in all its magic, he never would have been able to transmogrify it into such a consummate adult, and he certainly would not have underlined and exaggerated its deformities: "his hideous shrunken form, his horrible mouth, his long creepy fingers and toes, his grotesque stomach..." This horror is not our

adorable E.T. It is true that Spielberg has suggested "only his mother could love him," but he forgot to add that the movie's greatest triumph is to turn all of us into mothers. The wondrous mechanical being that Carlo Rambaldi has concocted is strange and bizarre, but not at all threatening. Merely designed to bring our softest thoughts, to make "everybody love it," as a Hershey executive announced when asked if it was safe to have such a freak promote Reese's Pieces. He could have proved his point with Konrad Lorenz, who noted in *Studies in Animal and Human Behavior*, that humans feel affection for animals with juvenile features: enormous eyes, bulging craniums, retreating chins. However much E.T. is beholden to worms, dragons and insects for his looks, he is above all an overweight fetus, a wise man from outer space in the garb of an infant. This puerile condition is overwhelmingly visual and spectacular, so maybe it was better for Kotzwinkle not to watch the animated marvel in motion, sucking up our sentiments. He was able to devote himself to more literary whirls of empathy: "His thought patterns were not visible, could not be seen rain-bowing above his head in bril-

liant, subtle waves." In other words, the intellectual glimmerings of a monster are not exactly filmable. His childishness is.

It is this basic puppy-feeling, absent from the book, that has made the movie *E.T.* (and, of course, the book as well) such an incredible success. And such a relief. E.T. is so different from all the other fiends, ectoplasms and psychopaths who have been howling and devouring their way through walls, bodies and box offices. I have watched with consternation how the mounting curve of American paranoia in international affairs coincides with the mounting hysteria in horror movies. These pictures are laced with fear, insinuating a mental landscape where neither spectators nor characters feel safe. In *Poltergeist*, a typical case, adults try to save the children. *E.T.*, the film, predicates the reverse: It is the children who will save the adults, and they will do it because they comprehend that an alien is not to be inevitably feared, that we need not project our terrors upon him. Both film and novel refuse to see the stranger as a metaphor for what must be eliminated, the stranger as an accusation or a blasphemy that can be stilled only through martyrdom or persecution.

Foreigners always have the air of the newborn about them. But E.T. is purportedly of superior intelligence. He should cope well.

The proposition, that we accept creatures unlike us, no matter how revolting and ugly, that we stand up against intolerance and extermination, is not new to science-fiction literature. Kotzwinkle's book pursues the idea without adding anything to it. He has written about a Close Encounter of the Fourth Kind. By doing so, he throws into relief, once more, the inventiveness and originality of the Spielberg film. The U.S. audience, starved for affection and openness, is given a tale in which Beauty (the child) kisses the Beast (E.T.) and resurrects him, in which the tired wayfarer of forbidding demeanor but with a bag full of miracles is given hospitality and a hearth. Kotzwinkle, by making his fallen divinity so overwhelmingly superior, leaves us no alternative than to enter into an alliance with him; Spielberg has made sure of the monster's acceptance by making him a baby.

Familiar habits.

And of course the extraterrestrial poses no challenge, in the film and in the book, to the society that harbors him. There is no demand in either of them for a real dialogue with the creature or his civilization. In the book, his world is too mysterious and arcane to be understood, except through impalpable, improbable (and tiresome) waves of light and fingertips of fire, whereas in the film *E.T.* has no effective civilization, no distinct symbol-system. Here is another clue to how an alien can convert the audience to the gospel of love. It is not enough for him to be a child. He must also have about him an air of familiarity, he must have within a desire and capacity for cultural assimilation.

In the film, he is not alien to Americans at all. This may not seem obvious to people from the States, who tend to view their own habits and images as natural, eternal and global. But to somebody from the Third World, as I am, to people who are real outsiders and misfits, it is clear that the walking vegetable with the valentine beating openly on

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Universal City Studios, Inc.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

RADIO

Paris takes to the airwaves

By Daniel Cohen

PARIS

Turning on the radio here has been an adventure since the Socialist victory of May 1981. Depending on the part of town—and even on the direction one faces—the listener receives an unpredictable melange of nearly 100 FM stations.

A popular craze for taking to the airwaves accompanied Francois Mitterrand into office, and his quick decision to allow “new spaces of freedom” on the FM band ushered in a popular overthrow of the government broadcast monopoly. *Radios libres*—free radio stations hounded from the air by the conservative government of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing—became “private local radios” under a law passed by the Socialist government in November 1981.

With that, more than 900 new stations were broadcasting nationwide. Every imaginable constituency went into radio. Thirty-eight stations in Paris addressed immigrant nationalities. Four stations spoke to the Jewish community. Radio by and for children, students, gay men and lesbians and the elderly all appeared. “Confessional radio” soothed Roman Catholics, Krishnas and meditators. Radio stations were dedicated exclusively to alternative medicine, ecology, radio theater, consumer advice, political satire.

For the price of a two-horsepower Citroen, according to a popular formula, you could set up a neighborhood station; for the cost of a Mercedes, you could reach all of Paris and into the suburbs. By spring, a listener survey reported that 44 percent of Parisians were regularly turning on a *radio libre*.

But if any high-spirited independents—or media conglomerates—applauded deregulation of the airwaves, the government and its national radio-television societies found the disorder understandably unacceptable. Free radios had pitched camp on the frequencies of Radio France, on those of the police and army and on top of each other. Six stations in Paris competed for space between FM 98 and 99.

Previously, listener choices were few: “public service” radio included four Radio France FM stations and three AM stations with “radio personalities” and high doses of advertising. The monopoly was stringently enforced under Giscard's regime, which jammed free radio signals, confiscated equipment and prosecuted people who spoke on the air. Only those who could take the transmitter out a back door on a moment's notice had much chance of staying on the air.

The *radio libres* let the Socialists act on two of their main campaign promises—to decentralize government power and loosen up

a rigid society. But the results so far also reflect Socialist hesitations about letting radio slip from government control just as their administration began.

In an effort to prevent small stations from being overwhelmed by well-financed businesses or right-wing voices, laws governing private local stations make each authorization “precarious and revocable,” limit antenna power to a modest 500 watts, forbid rebroadcast of any other station's program and ban all advertising from the air.

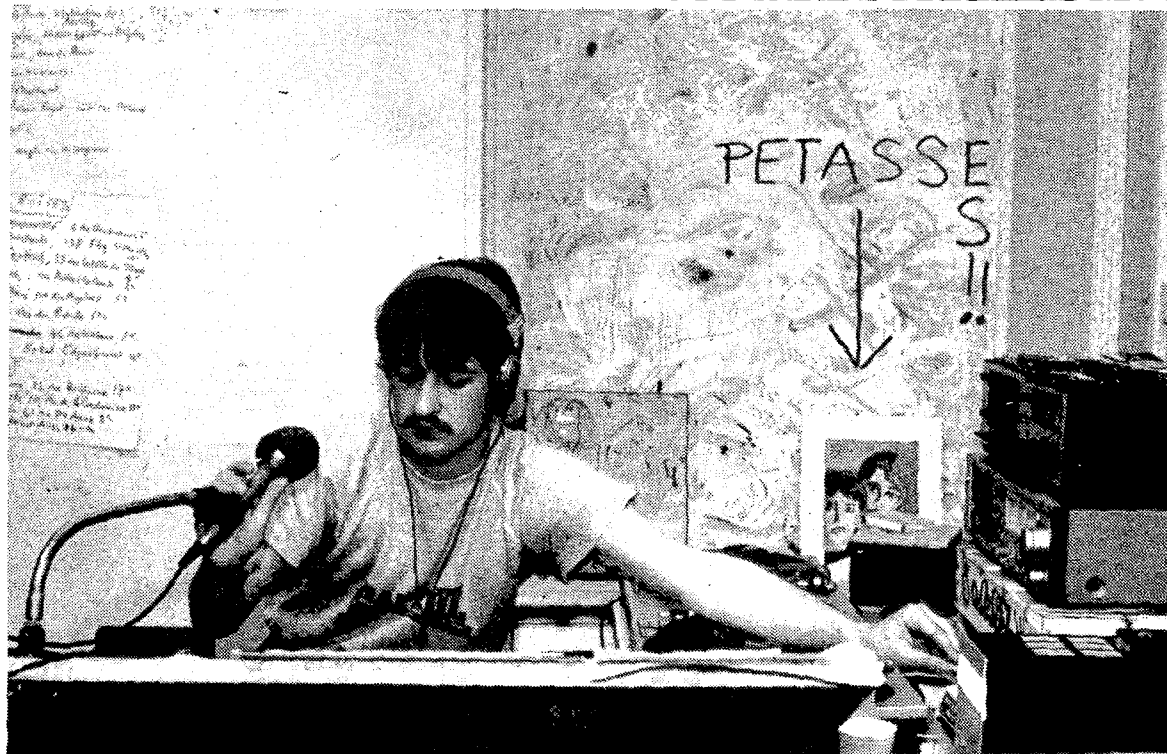
Who gets to stay?

A 21-member commission installed by the minister of com-



munications in January began sorting through 1,200 proposals and deciding which free radios would be authorized to stay on the air. The chairman, Andre Holleaux, a member of the Council of State and a former cabinet director under Andre Malraux, declared his enthusiastic devotion to pluralism, but other parties on the commission had more specific loyalties—to the established state broadcast media, the press or political factions. Competing claims on the airwaves began to limit the available frequencies. For example, the military has reserved FM 104 to 108 until 1995. Foreign broadcasters had to be protected in border provinces. Radio France requisitioned a supply of frequencies for future state-run projects.

Along with the shrinking airspace, what really worried the free stations was money. Eager entrepreneurs may have been slowed by the strict ban on advertising, but the independents on the air were also stunned. “*Radio libre* can't live without advertising,” said a representative of the National Federation of Free Radio, “but it doesn't want to live for advertising.” The ban on advertising was due in large part to the lobbying muscle of the regional daily press, which still receives a lion's share of advertising money spent in France (and enjoys a monopoly on local and regional news in many parts of the country).



Staff members (above and left) of *Frequence Gaie*, one of the new *radios libres* of Paris

they let their hidden interests in existing radios be seen.

Thus what the Socialists wanted to avoid happened. Wealthy and well-established interests in France began to affect the fate of much of the new private radio, especially outside Paris.

For the stations determined to avoid financial dependence on an outside backer, 1982 has gone from a year of euphoria to one of scraping for survival. To make ends meet, the *radios libres* spon-

Along with shrinking airspace, what really worried the free stations was money.

sor an endless series of benefit dances and concerts, solicit money from listeners and sell program guides. Others have found loopholes in the ban on advertising: credits to sponsors in the style of U.S. public television, notices of job recruitment or ads published rather than broadcast.

More choices, less freedom.

These choices have not helped all the free radios feel more free. “We have ideas and people, we have support in the society, but no financial resources,” said Patrick Van Treoyen, who founded *Radio Ivre* in 1977. Pursued by the former regime for unauthorized broadcasts, *Radio Ivre* moved its studios and transmitters more than 250 times. Its multi-ethnic programming and irreverent tone set the style for much of the free radio that followed.

When the government's technical society, Telediffusion (TDF) of France, announced the quota of frequencies for Paris last spring, anxiety further gripped the free radio community. TDF established seven large frequen-

cies for all Paris and the near suburbs, eight medium-sized ones within the city proper and one to be shared by small neighborhood radios.

Faced with 150 stations and 15 frequencies, the Holleaux Commission announced that “individualism” would be a grave liability to any request for a license. The only choice was “marriage,” as commissioners and applicants put it. Under the threat of losing access to the airwaves, the wedding bells tolled. There were marriages of convenience: *Radio Verte*, a veteran of radio piracy with strong ties to the ecology movement, joined with *NRJ* (“energy”), one of the all-music giants of the free stations. And marriages of affection: four small stations, “alternative and pluralist,” formed *Frequence Libre* and, with prodding, offered a daily block of time to an all-women's radio, *Les Nanas Radioteuses*.

The stations left without licenses included several of the most original, unclassifiable radios, like *Ici et Maintenant*, the frequency programmed entirely by listeners. The Commission was also merciless to one of the all-music giants of free radio, *RFM*, for broadcasting commercials and refusing to merge with any other station.

“Turning 150 into 15 favors the concentration of capital, not the production of ideas,” lamented Van Treoyen of *Radio Ivre*, which symbolically stopped broadcasting while considering how to cope with the more structured radio of the new order. “The ecstasy is over,” said one station announcer.

While trying to figure out ways to coexist on the same frequencies this fall, the stations reopened the dispute on finances with a proposal for five minutes an hour of advertising governed by a strict code. Despite the loss of some free-spiritedness and some concessions to political influence, the private local stations of Paris offer a diversity that American listeners would find bracing. It is a change unimaginable during the 28 years of conservative government that came before. ■

FOLK MUSIC

Sweet sounds of survival tour the South

By David Moberg

When Nimrod Workman first went into the coal mines of Kentucky back in 1911 at the age of 15, he had more than a lunch bucket and his oil lamp to see him through the day of shoveling coal. He already had a repertoire of songs that "I'd sing to myself just to keep myself company." Mainly they were songs that he learned at his grandfather's knee. Up the mountainside in a little shack, the old man would take young Nimrod and a jug of liquor, pour a couple of glasses for the two of them, and break into song with ballads like "Lord Bateman," an English tale from the time of the Crusades, or "Little Lullie," a variation on "Pretty Polly."

Standing in the parking lot of the Quality Court Motel in Madison, Ga., Workman was inspired by his reminiscences and launched into the plaintive tale of young Lullie pleading for her life to her boyfriend who prefers murdering her to marrying her, a warning of male wickedness common to the English and Appalachian musical traditions. Workman has that high, slightly nasal, haunting voice of the old mountain style, sung without accompaniment, piercing with its fervor. Even though it's early evening and he's been up since 4 a.m., a habit developed for 12-hour days of coal mining that he has never relinquished, the thin, almost gaunt Workman is animatedly involved in his song, shifting and twisting, carving the air with his storyteller's hands.

But the stories that Nimrod Workman has to tell don't all date from the Middle Ages. One of the earliest songs he wrote was inspired by an incident at a coal camp. Families of miners who were fighting for a union back in the time of President Woodrow Wilson were attacked by a gang of thugs—"yellow dogs." They beat the women and poured kerosene in the kids' milk. Suddenly, Nimrod was back there in song:

"I'm going to old Heart Creek Mountain, I'm going back to the Blair Mountain Hill, I'm going to fight for my union/'Cause I know it's Mother Jones' will, I know it's Mother Jones' will."

The legendary Mother Jones, a front-line battler for the rights of workers until she was 100, had been Workman's youthful inspiration. "Oh, she was some woman, that woman was," he said fervently. "I've never seen a woman like her in my life and I'm 86 years old." The impression stuck: a "100 percent union man" all his life, Workman was also a leader in the battle to win black lung compensation for coal miners. In another town, he would take the stage at the converted Victorian schoolhouse that now serves the 3,000-population town of Madison as its

cultural center and lead off this year's Southern Grassroots Music Tour with another of his compositions, "The Black Lung Blues."

Workman's style of music and his tradition was only one strand in the mosaic of folk culture represented by the Grassroots Music Tour, which dates back to the heyday of the civil rights movement. On stage with him were Frankie and Doug Quimby singing the songs of the Georgia Sea Islands. Sufficiently separated to preserve its own dialect, the

Gullah language, the Sea Islands also maintained a strong musical tradition of songs from the days of slavery and afterwards. "Pay Me My Money Down," known to a wider audience through a calypso version, is a protest against the deceptive shortchanging many slaves-turned-day-laborers experienced at the hands of ship captains.

History through song.

But the lesson of the Sea Island songs is more survival than rebellion. Part of the sustenance was religious—such classics as "Amazing Grace" or "My God Is a Rock in a Weary Land"—and part of it came from a mocking humor and game-playing, as in a song with a complicated dance of swift-moving hands

called "Hambone," referring to the circuit of the trimmings of the master's hog through many families' cooking pots.

Frankie grew up on the Sea Islands, but Doug came from a poor sharecropper's family in Albany, Ga., learning to sing in church and earning a quarter now and then to sing for the landlord's mother tearful songs like "My Mother's Dead and Gone." As they make their trips around the country in their 1976 blue Cadillac with over 100,000 miles logged on it, the Quimbys are particularly anxious to reach black kids, who, Frankie says, are often at first resistant to their songs and stories.

"You don't know where you're going unless you know where you're coming from," she

also taken to preserve the balance of black and white performers and styles. Although the audience at the Madison-Morgan cultural center was largely drawn from young professionals who had settled into the beautiful old mansions in "the town that Sherman spared," the Tour has played for union audiences, schools, political gatherings and prisons as well.

The Tour is not simply an effort at antiquarian preservation. Many of the performers are not strictly professionals, although nearly all have some recordings, but they are nevertheless forceful performers with strong presences. Younger people who maintain some of the traditions in modified ways are also well represented. Workman's daugh-

The exchange between blacks and whites is an often ignored side of Southern culture.



ter, Phyllis Boyens, who played Loretta Lynn's mother in *Coal Miner's Daughter*, follows in her father's footsteps. However, she employs a more contemporary country music idiom, such as her song "Love Crisis," a typical country lament on fading love-power that plays on the energy crisis. And world champion fiddler Frazier Moss, 71, teams up with a talented young guitarist and singer, Justin Demps, 19, whose father played for many years with Moss.

Nobody in the Tour imagines that they will be replacing Charlie Daniels or Alabama in the pop market, but neither do they see themselves as mere curiosity pieces. "We're not playing pop music," Rucker said. "We're trying to conserve things we believe in. We've tried to stay on top of keeping a subtle political message. We are trying to put the music back into the community, but the music has never really died. In order to be revived it has to have died."

Sometimes the message is explicitly political, as in Romaine's tune about a black uprising in Augusta, Ga. It was drawn—quite unlike some of her predecessors' songs—from an account in the *New York Times*. But mainly the message is subtle. In part it is simply having Sparky Rucker, the young black bluesman with his political buttons covering the guitar strap, singing along with Frazier Moss, the Appalachian fiddler, in such obvious mutual harmony.

Gospel, country and TV.

But with Nimrod Workman, the Quimbys and other performers there is also an expression of an authentic American working-class culture in which the politics are unselfconscious, a "mother's milk" politics as the historian George Rude calls it. That political sentiment as part of the culture is hard to preserve as the professional creators of songs are more set apart from their audiences and linked by the intermediaries of record, radio and TV. But the Grassroots Musical Tour reminds us of those gut-level politics beyond, or before, politics. Frankie Quimby, for example, doesn't see her songs as political as much as "teaching us how to survive" and "bringing us closer to God," despite their content. "It's just a way of life," she says. And a way of singing that has simple beauty, depth of feeling and staying power.

Over the years she has helped organize the Tour, such luminaries as Pete Seeger and Ralph Stanley have joined in, but the standing rule is that everyone gets equal billing. Special care is

Nimrod Workman learned his music with a jug of liquor at his grandfather's knee.

Arab

Continued from page 11

lem leadership of Beirut and some members of the Arab League with whom he had been communicating through a special emissary, that he had decided against signing a peace treaty with Israel. This decision had been made despite his secret meeting in northern Israel on September 1 with Prime Minister Begin, Foreign Minister Shamir and Defense Minister Sharon. At that meeting, the Israelis had threatened not to withdraw from Lebanon if Gemayel did not sign, and to build up Major Saad Haddad, Israel's Christian ally in southern Lebanon in place of Gemayel. The president-elect retaliated by warning Haddad the week before he died that either he submit to the Lebanese Army and break his special ties with Israel or Gemayel would indict him for desertion of the Lebanese Army after the September 23 inauguration.

The assessment in Beirut of the assassination is that Gemayel died because he had rejected the pact with Israel, not because he had accepted it. Witnesses there say that for many days Israeli soldiers had surrounded the Phalange headquarters building where Gemayel died. Along a half-mile stretch of the street and

on either side of the building at least 200 Israeli soldiers and 20 armored personnel carriers were counted two days before the assassination. They remained on guard day and night.

There was no way of approaching or entering the Phalange building without passing through this cordon. The conclusion that was drawn in Beirut is that no Palestinian, Syrian or Lebanese group could have planted the 400 pounds of explosives reportedly used to demolish the Phalange headquarters—only men cleared by the Israeli army could have done so.

Arab League sources say that the Syrians have been carefully avoiding any incident likely to provoke an Israeli attack. They doubt Assad would have sanctioned such an assassination, especially not after Gemayel began signaling his rejection of Israel's terms. Only the Israelis, Arabs conclude, had the means and the motive for killing Gemayel. The believe Begin benefits from a new power vacuum in which he can reinforce the occupation of Beirut and bolster the power of Major Haddad.

The assassination, and Arab speculation about Israeli involvement, add to the uncertainty within the Arab League over what to do for Lebanon. There will be an effort by the Arabs to encourage an immediate election and the nomination of Gemayel's

brother, Amin, to replace him. He is reputed to be more moderate in his methods than his brother, more open to compromise with the Lebanese Moslems and more of an Arab nationalist. There is doubt, however, that Israel would accept him.

And so the Lebanese and members of the League are increasingly inclined to ask Washington to put the Israelis under tighter control. This is hedged by suspicion of covert collaboration between the U.S. and Israel—Arafat's comment on the assassination labeled both countries as responsible. Many Arabs also doubt that the Reagan administration wants to get any more deeply involved in Lebanese politics.

When the Arabs get together collectively, the Palestine issue invariably rises to the top of the agenda and, though the PLO is financially and politically dependent on the others, Arafat and the Organization almost always dominate the outcome of debate. The Arab leaders can stab Arafat in the back in their bilateral dealings or their relations with the superpowers, but when they are together at the Arab League, they feel obliged to defer—in Fez this time, as in November 1981, what the PLO wanted, it got.

But Arafat also took pains to signal that he wasn't ready to impose his own preferences nor those of the other Arab states on the several factions that make up

The League members are increasingly inclined to ask the U.S. to control Israel.

the PLO. Arafat went into the sessions accompanied by Abd Rabbuh, the number two man of the Syrian-aligned Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and by Abu Maher, George Habash's deputy in the Marxist Popular Front. This was a deliberate signal, and it frustrated several of Arafat's Saudi and U.S.-oriented personal advisors.

But in practical political terms, it is the latter group—which includes Issam Sartawi, Arafat's emissary to Paris, Nabil Shaath, his emissary to Washington, Ahmad Dajani, the PLO representative in Cairo, and Khalid Hassan, his personal political advisor—that is the dominant one at the moment around the "old man." They are ready to accept the Reagan proposals, although they know the possibilities for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are extremely limited.

Their hope is that the battle of Beirut has finally achieved a genuine American concession toward the Palestinians. Their fear is that unless they accept the Reagan plan—including the virtual exclusion of the PLO from a direct negotiating role—Israel will accomplish full de facto annexation of the occupied territories within two years, and begin massive expulsions of the Palestinian Arabs into Jordan.

In this context, the first priority seems one of keeping the West Bank Arab—whatever the final

legal, political or territorial arrangements may prove to be. The only hope of that, according to some PLO officials, is that President Reagan will restrain Israel. Opinions differ over whether he can or will do that before it's too late.

It is impossible to infer from U.S. or Israeli press coverage that this was the Palestinian thinking at Fez, but the secretary of state knew just how far the PLO had conceded acceptance of the Reagan plan when he described the summit result as possibly a "genuine breakthrough... and very, very important."

Publicly, the summit agreed to issue a communique that reiterated the main points of the Fahd Plan, presented last August, with one major change and a minor one. The important addition was the acknowledgement of the PLO as the "sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." The Fahd plan had been rejected by the PLO last November because that had been omitted, and also because the Reagan administration had rejected any Arab-sponsored initiative on the Palestinian issue that would lead to a Palestinian state.

The minor change in the communique was in the wording of the recognition-of-Israel clause. In the original Fahd plan this had been expressed as "the right of all countries of the region to live in peace." In the Fez version, the language referred obliquely to previous UN Security Council resolutions, and to the role of the Council to "guarantee peace among all states of the region."

Formally, as the Israelis have said, there was no sign of recognition of Israel's right to exist, but no one at the summit, and no American official familiar with Arab policy, is in any doubt about the Arab concession on this issue. The summit communique is the maximum Arab position for future negotiations—the Reagan plan is the minimum.

Continued on facing page

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



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Democratic Socialists of America: Conference on left politics for the '80s "Turning Things Around." Participants: Noam Chomsky, Michael Harrington, Stanley Aronowitz, Cornell West, Kate Ellis and others. Rutgers University, Friday, 2-10 p.m. "Iedge"; Saturday 9 a.m.-6 p.m. Rutgers Student Center. For information, call (201) 247-6768 or (201) 932-7589.

INDIANA, PA.

October 21-23

Indiana University of Pennsylvania is sponsoring a conference "The Industrial North: The Future of Jobs, Productivity and Community." Participants include Barry Bluestone, M. Harvey Brenner, Stuart Butler (consultant to the Heritage Foundation), Julius Vehlein, William Miller (vice president for labor relations, U.S. Steel) and Alfred Warren (vice president for industrial relations, General Motors). Contact Irwin Marcus, Department of History, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, PA 15707 for additional details.

Continued from facing page

Arafat and the heads of state left Fez hoping they can bargain with Washington for something in between.

Assad is hoping too, but his tactics are different. He cannot afford to allow the negotiating process with the U.S. to fall into hands that might be hostile toward Syria--Arafat's advisors, for example, or King Hussein of Jordan. He also needs to preserve some independent bargaining strength vis-a-vis the Saudis. And so he, Arafat and the Democratic and Popular Fronts have made common cause to conserve their negotiating resources and strengthen their veto. The result? The appointment of a committee of heads of state of Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Tunisia, together with Arafat. This committee is designed to tie King Hussein's hands even more firmly than in the past. And even if Arafat is formally absent from the committee's talks with U.S. officials in Washington in the near future, his vote, with Assad's will effectively circumscribe whatever agreement the Reagan administration can reach with the others.

Tactically, the hope of the Palestinians and Syrians now is that they can gain some leverage in Washington, but as far as their objectives go, they have all but conceded the game to President Reagan.

Claudia Wright is the Washington correspondent of the *New Statesman* (London), *Ethnos* (Athens) and *Temoignage Chretien* (Paris).



E.T.

Continued from page 19

his chest as a sign of friendliness, can be accepted as somebody to cuddle and protect, can be sheltered and watched over, because he is easily and comfortably integrated into American mass culture. His very semblance has been prepared by the doll indus-

try, by the Muppets, by animated cartoons. That is why, when the mother sees him amid a mountain of stuffed toys, he does not stand out.

Spielberg has made sure that all initial contacts between the alien and Elliot are through objects that any kid from the States would recognize, the symbols of the most popular folklife longings of 20th-century America. The space goblin is enticed out of the foliage by a string of Reese's Pieces, almost as if he were a

famished waif in an Asian or African alley. And the first rapport depends on baseball--the boy throws a ball into the toolshed, where the invader is hiding, and the ball bounces back. This may have been too much for Kotzwinkle, who in his quest for universality (a god must be everything to everybody, after all) substitutes an orange for the ball. He also eliminates Buck Rogers as a source of inspiration for phoning home.

E.T. has been lucky enough to get lost in a rather special, privileged place called California. He never would have made it back home if he had not chosen affluent children who have computer toys, walkie-talkies, record players and other implements needed for his transmission to the stars. In fact, if E.T. had undergone his unfortunate space-wreck among impoverished black girls and boys in Brazil, he never would have made it to the movies or the *New York Times* best-seller list and another sort of stardom.

Kotzwinkle's book allows us to see precisely why the extraterrestrial in the film is not repulsive to the audience. Not only because of his infantile resonances, but because he has come straight from *Sesame Street*, a second cousin to Yoda. After melting so many nationalities within its borders, and exporting its mass culture to so many foreign lands, what is one more space critter to America? The audience can adopt him in the same way that so many small orphans from across the world, from multiple other very earthly worlds, have been adopted by foster families.

An immigrant from another galaxy who does not have to pass through Ellis Island.

But I should not complain. With wars bursting all over the planet like hellfire, with chemicals tormenting our rivers and our vegetation, with whales hunted down to produce tennis racquets, with famine and dictators and too many speeches and reports on how to deal with them, we should be glad that a delight like E.T. is around. Such a mild and lenient message, whether in the film or in the book, is encouraging, especially if the alternative is to see *Alien* or *Poltergeist*, or peruse their novelizations.

Even though Kotzwinkle has not given readers the childish fun they expected, they will probably not be disappointed. He tells us again, although without engaging us completely and instantaneously as the film does, that just because somebody is different, it does not give us the right to be indifferent to his sorrows. But surely we do not have to wait for a traveler from outer space to teach us this. Surely there are plenty of people who are different and otherly and much nearer by, waiting under our own sun. Surely every stranger does not have to be infantilized and Americanized in order to gain acceptance, in order not to be exterminated.

©Ariel Dorfman

Ariel Dorfman, a Chilean writer in exile, is the author of, most recently, *Widows* (a novel) and *The Empire's Old Clothes* (both forthcoming from Pantheon). This article first appeared in longer form in the *Village Voice*.

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Life in the slow lane

for a CIA recruiter

By Anthony Schmitz



If there is something incongruous in running newspaper and radio ads for CIA agents, it does not trouble the agency's Atlanta recruiter. He operates in traditionally obscure style from an office near the end of a murky hallway, across from the freight elevator on a downtown building's 20th floor. The plain metal door is unmarked, except for an easily removed magnetic label that reads:

Personnel Representative
Robert Peterson
Normal Hill

Robert Peterson meets visitors at a door that is locked electronically by a switch near the secretary's desk. He wears a white shirt, striped tie and glasses. A few of the hairs on his balding scalp float freely behind his ears. He walks into his office and motions at a chair.

Atop his desk are a stack of napkins, a nameplate, a legal pad and a pen. Behind the desk hang a portrait of William Casey, CIA director, and a certificate acknowledging Peterson's 15 years of service to the CIA. Were he to tuck it inside his black plastic briefcase and walk out the door, the room would contain no obvious trace of his occupancy.

Though there is no clue in this spartan office, these are boom days for the CIA. Director Casey is rebuilding an agency that suffered a 50 percent reduction in personnel over the past seven or eight years. Because he worries about giving away secrets, Casey won't say how many new agents and analysts are being hired. Nor will Peterson say how many he is obliged to recruit.

But when Peterson is short of recruits, he calls his boss in Washington, Hank Walton, and Walton places ads on area radio stations and in newspapers. The

ads jab at the ennui that haunts educated office workers. "Many men and women bored with their present 9 to 5 jobs merely fantasize that they are cut out for the rigorous demands of an entry level position with the Central Intelligence Agency," the ads read. "If there is the slightest doubt in your mind about yourself, read no further. Save your time and ours." An eagle glowers with intense aggravation at the bottom of the page.

About 1,800 people replied to radio and newspaper ads run in the Southeast recently, Peterson said, though he would not say how many recruits he placed. In fact, he talks specifically only about his childhood in Cottonwood, Minn., a town of about 700 people set in the cornfields near the South Dakota border. There his father owned a movie theater that was eventually put out of business by television, Peterson said. He left the small town for the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, where he graduated with a degree in business administration. From there his life becomes a series of hazy references. He entered the army where he worked "somewhere in the Far East" in intelligence. In "the early '60s" he joined the CIA, working in Washington as well as other unnamed places.

Peterson opened the Atlanta recruitment office in 1979, taking on an area that includes Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Florida and part of North Carolina. He and Norman Hill recruit on campuses, making long pilgrimages from motel to motel in a series of college towns. They drop off flyers that begin with the announcement of "CAREER OPPORTUNITIES" and end with the remotely disturbing pronouncement, "It's time for us to know more about each other."

If an applicant sends in a resume, Peterson scours it for details about for-

eign travel, military experience, or ability to speak a foreign language. He tries to weed out applicants who consider a CIA career to be an exhilarating romp. "We don't use the word exciting," said Peterson in his flat, Midwestern voice. "We say it's interesting work."

People, of course, are misled by the occasional odd CIA scheme—the attempt to train otters to plant microphones and explosives, for instance, or the plot to contaminate Castro's cigars with a poison that would cause his hair to fall out. "People too often think of James Bond and overseas service," Peterson said. "A good portion of our people are just analysts."

If a resume looks promising, Peterson lines up an interview, either in his office or in a motel room near the applicant's home. The interviews, which commonly last for half an hour, have no standard format.

"I get the same questions I'd get if I worked for Days Inn or Georgia Pacific. People wonder what kind of career advancement is possible. They ask about vacation and insurance." Peterson looks for hints of the devotion to duty that is common to agents, he said. Also, he

"Interesting resumé
Mr. Bond, but how fast
can you type?"

gives applicants a 21-title bibliography of books, with titles such as *Portrait of a Cold Warrior* and *Their Trade Is Treachery*. Those who advance beyond the initial interview are rewarded with an application, a packet of forms that, once analyzed, may send them to more interviews in Washington.

Novelists tend to glamorize this work that Peterson does. When William F. Buckley put his mind to it in *Saving the Queen*, his CIA recruiter was a bulky man in a flannel suit, riding on a train. Seemingly oblivious to Buckley's hero Oakes during the New Haven to New York run, the anonymous man picked one perfect moment to lean over and say in a quiet monotone, "Mr. Oakes, your application has been acted on. We are familiar with your schedule, and you should not have any problem coming in to see us tomorrow morning at 10:06."

If Peterson longs for a dramatic moment on a speeding train, he gives no hint of it. From his office he can watch the railroad freight cars clattering toward their destination. He is content to be what he calls an "overt employee." He says it is no temptation to blurt out the secrets he keeps. "It's instilled in you, that you're not supposed to be talking about certain things. I don't find that hard at all."

Anthony Schmitz is a writer for the *Atlanta Weekly*.